AN

APOLOGY

FOR

PROMOTING CHRISTIANITY

IN

INDIA.

BY

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APPENDIX.

ERRATUM.

Remove the last line at the bottom of the 7th page, viz. "*in Orrissa? Or can he say certainly, from any*" and place (or read) it at the bottom of the 8th page.

PREFACE.

THE immolations under the Car of the Hindoo Deity are not particularly considered in the following Letter, that not being the subject which I was called upon to notice: but, as Mr. Buller is of opinion, "that people may with as much justice censure our Government at home for not preventing suicide, as they may the Government abroad for not preventing the immolations in question;" and since a comparison between "immolation in India, and suicide in England," has actually been made in Parliament since the printing of his letter, it seems to be proper to weigh the merits of such a comparison. I allege there are no ground for the comparison, either as to the frequency of the deed or as to the principle.

And, first, with respect to the frequency of the deed.—Mr. Buller observes, that when he happened to be at Juggernaut, at the festival of the Rutt in 1809, "he *heard* but of one instance of an immolation under the wheels of the car." If Mr. Buller can only speak of what he "heard," no dependence is to be placed on his information, when he mentions. When I was at Juggernaut, had I not followed the Idol's chariot myself, I should probably have never "heard" of the two immolations wh[illegible] I witnessed. If the writer wished to have communicated to the nation any in Orrissa? Or can he say certainly, from any

certain information concerning these self-devotements, he ought, every morning, during the height of the festival, to have visited the Golgotha, or place where the dead bodies are cast forth; and also the sands between the Idol's tower and the sea, and the precincts of the town. And while examining these scenes, he ought to have counted the bodies whose bones were bruised by the car; for it is very easy to distinguish the skeletons which have been crushed—I say skeletons, for the dogs and the vultures generally eat off the flesh before the morning. The writer computes the number of pilgrims present at the Rutt Jattra of 1809, at about 100,000; although he observes elsewhere, that this was a small number compared to that of other years. Does he then know what was the daily mortality, from different causes, of this one hundred thousand pilgrims? Was it twenty, or fifty, or one hundred, per day? We know the calculation which has been made, of the daily casualties in an army of 100,000 men, when in a generally healthy state. What, then, must be the daily average of death in an army of one hundred thousand pilgrims: "a large proportion of whom," according to Mr. Buller, "consists of the old and infirm, who come for the express purpose of laying their bones within the precincts of the city!" Or did he ever make any inquiry respecting the daily devastation of the various causes of death, so as to be able to offer even a conjecture on the subject? Did he ever send for the *hurries* (or corpse-carriers) and investigate accurately how many immolations took place while he resided

authentic data, that there were not in fact many self-devotements during that period?—I think it probable, that the writer cannot answer one of these questions in the affirmative. A simple case will explain my meaning in proposing them. During the many years Mr. Buller resided in Calcutta, he probably never saw more than three or four women burned; I do not know that he saw one; yet it now appears, from unquestionable evidence, that a very considerable number of females were immolated within a short distance of his residence during that period. As it was with respect to immolations at and near Calcutta, so, we would infer, it might have been as to immolations at Juggernaut.

It will be proper here to assign the reason why so few immolations of women are seen by Europeans in India; for I understand the circumstance has greatly perplexed the minds of some. The causes are these:

1. There are in India 30,000 English, and fifty millions of natives. In Calcutta alone, the calculation, a few years ago, was 1500 English, and about half a million natives.

2. By a law of the East India Company, no British subject can reside above ten miles distance from a principal settlement, without a special licence.

3. The burnings do not always occur in the same place; but at some convenient spot near the house of the deceased Hindoo, and generally on the banks of a river.

4. The burning generally begins next forenoon after the decease of the husband; or if he die during the night, it takes place next evening,

on account of the state of the corpse in a hot climate. Immediately on the decease of the husband, the Brahmins wait on the widow, to know if she means to burn; and all is settled in an hour or two.

5. If the burning takes place in the forenoon, it does not begin generally till ten o'clock, or later, when the sun is hot, and when no Englishman goes to any distance without necessity. If it takes place in the evening, the flame may be seen at a distance; but as it is more likely to be merely the burning of a dead body (the pile for which is generally lighted in the evening,) the expectation of a woman burning alive is not excited. From the terraces of the houses in Calcutta, funeral piles may be seen on the other side of the river so commonly, that they are not particularly noticed. No person thinks of going over to examine what is doing; as it is known to be, in general cases, only the burning of a dead body.

6. Unless an Englishman comes casually upon the scene, he never can, generally speaking, see a burning. The only expedient is, to desire your Hindoo servants to mention when they hear that one is about to take place. But again, your Hindoo servants live in your own house, and not in the native part of the town; and unless it be one of their own relations who is dead, they seldom hear any thing of the event till afterwards. Another obstacle is, that they are averse to communicate to Christians any information concerning a custom which they know is not approved. The Mahometans, on the other hand, have less difficulty; but then they have

less acquaintance with what is passing among Hindoo families. My sircar (or house-steward) has more than once apprised me of a burning; but I do not recollect that a Mahometan servant ever did. And, again, even if you should receive timely intelligence, it may happen that the distance is inconvenient. The usual place of burning, on the Calcutta side of the water, is at Chitpore Ghaut, about four miles from the English part of the town; and few of the English will choose to travel eight miles, under a hot sun, through crowded bazars, to witness the scene.

7. To all these causes may be added, the utter disinclination of the English, in general, to inquire into what the natives are doing. Nothing relating to them excites much interest.—They constitute a distinct world from the English. Their language, manners, and religion, the English understand not. But chiefly the personal degradation of the Hindoos, from poverty of circumstances and ignorance of mind, separates the two nations; so that an English lady or gentleman, in Calcutta, is generally much better acquainted with what has passed during the former year on the banks of the river Thames, [in England] than with the scenes on the banks of the Ganges.

These considerations will shew what weight is due to the argument so often repeated, viz.—That the immolations of women must be few, since so few English gentlemen have seen them.

The same observations will, for the most part, account for that prevailing ignorance concerning Hindoo scenes in general, such as the licentious ceremonies of the Rutt Jattra, and the immola-

tions of men in the various ways in which they are practised; for numerous are the modes in which religious suicide is perpetrated, besides that of being crushed under the chariot of an idol. To compare the immolations of men in India with suicide in England, is exceedingly preposterous. It is a received maxim of philosophic writers, that, in any nation, the cases of suicide by the men greatly exceed those by the women; and the fact is accounted for on self-evident principles. But it has been satisfactorily established, that upwards of *ten thousand* women commit suicide annually in India. What becomes, then, of the analogy between the immolations of men in India and in England?

Again: the immolations in India differ entirely from suicide in England, in the *principle*, or moving cause of the act. Religious suicide among the Hindoos is an act quite distinct from that suicide in Europe which results from *despair*. A Hindoo is not usually urged to this act by a sentiment of despair, but by the conviction of a meritorious deed; by the belief that he purchases heaven *by his own blood;* or by sympathetic phrensy. He devotes *himself* to death with the same feeling, and on the same principle, that he devotes his "first-born child to Gunga," and can behold the infant in the jaws of the alligator without compassion or compunction. The advocates for the tranquil continuance of the superstition of Brahma will not deny, that, whatever be its actual character, or whoever be the spiritual deity that rules its votaries, it destroys all the "tender visitings of nature."

It is proper I should say something on the subject of the Second Letter in the following pages. In three publications concerning India, viz. "A Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment," the "Christian Researches in Asia," and the "Brief View of the State of the British Colonies in Respect to Religious Instruction," there is no exposition of the peculiar subject of that letter. And it is most certain, that it would not now have been given, had not an attempt been made, in a paper laid before the Council of the Nation, to represent the "sculptures on the walls of Juggernaut" as being as harmless, in regard to their moral effect on the Hindoos, as the figures on an Etruscan vase are to us: from which the conclusion naturally would be, that the worship of the Hindoos is not more contaminated by indelicacy than that of the English.

I would beg leave to notice in this place the late discussion in Parliament concerning the enormities of the Hindoo worship, and the attempt made by some Honorable Members to qualify them. I understood, some time ago, that the statement in my own writings which chiefly excited animadversion, was that which refers to the burning of women. But I presume that it is now generally known, that subsequent statements of indubitable authority have far exceeded mine, and have set the question at rest.

Perhaps the Honorable Members above alluded to are not aware, that a work has been recently published in Bengal, in four volumes quarto, entitled, "An Account of the Writings, Religion, and Manners of the Hindoos, includ-

ing Translations from their principal Works; by William Ward, one of the Baptist Missionaries at Serampore;" which has been bought up with avidity in India, has already passed through two editions, and is now republishing in this country. It was printed under the immediate eye of the Supreme Government (as it necessarily must be,) and possesses an unquestionable authenticity, generally, on the various subjects concerning which it treats. It takes the high ground of literal translations from the Hindoo books, recent events, and living witnesses.—Now, this work not only confirms the statements in my volumes, in most points which were controverted, but it goes far beyond them. It describes, for example, the atrocities connected with the burning of women, self-torture, and the impurity of the Hindoo worship, in such a manner as shews that I have scarcely entered the vestibule of their temple. It states, that an attempt was made to ascertain the number of widows who were burned alive, within thirty miles around Calcutta, in the year 1803, and "that the return made a total of four hundred and thirty-eight." And, in regard to the circumstances of horror which sometimes attend these scenes, I beg the reader will accept the two following examples. The first has already been noticed in the House of Commons, in answer to an opposing statement which asserted the "filial piety" of the Hindoos.

"About the year 1796, the following most shocking and attrocious murder, under the name of suhumurunu,* was perpetrated at Mu-

* Suhu, *with*; murunu, *death*.

jilupoor, about a day's journey south from Calcutta. Vaucha-ramu, a Bramhun, of the above place, dying, his wife went to be burnt with the body; all the previous ceremonies were performed; she was fastened on the pile, and the fire was kindled. The funeral pile was by the side of some brushwood, and near a river. It was at a late hour when the pile was lighted, and was a very dark, rainy night. When the fire began to scorch this poor woman, she contrived to disentangle herself from the dead body, crept from under the pile, and hid herself among the brushwood. In a little time it was discovered that only one body was on the pile. The relations immediately took the alarm, and began to hunt for the poor wretch who had made her escape. After they had found her, the son dragged her forth, and insisted upon her throwing herself upon the pile again, or that she should drown or hang herself. She pleaded for her life, at the hands of her own son, and declared she could not embrace so horrid a death.—But she pleaded in vain; the son urged that he should lose his cast, and that, therefore, he would die or she should. Unable to persuade her to hang or drown herself, the son and the others then tied her hands and her feet, and threw her on the funeral pile, where she quickly perished."

The other example, which far exceeds the foregoing in awful enormity, is the following:—"Goopinat'hu, a Bramhun employed in the Serampore printing office, in the year 1799, saw *twenty-two* females burnt alive with the remains of Ununtu, a Bramhun of Bagnuparu, near Nu-

deeyu. This Koolinu Bramhun had more than a hundred wives. At the first kindling of the fire only three of these wives had arrived. The fire was kept kindled three days! When one or more arrived, the ceremonies were gone through, *and they threw themselves on the blazing fire!* On the first day three were burned; on the second and third days, nineteen more. Among these women, some were as much as forty years old, and others as young as sixteen. The three first had lived with this Bramhun, the others had seldom seen him. He married in one house four sisters; two of these were among the number burnt."

Now, if the horrible transaction here related did not take place, it is very easy to ascertain the fact. Nudeeyu, or as it is commonly called, Nuddeea, is at no great distance up the river above Calcutta. The event is said to have occurred in 1799. If it did take place in that year, hundreds of people now alive must have witnessed it. The Bramhun, who had a hundred wives, must have been well known. Let the inquiry then be made; and let the credit of the work, generally, rest on the result. I know nothing of the merits of the book, but I depend on the character of the authors and the circumstances under which it is published; and I say that the probability of the truth of the transaction just related is as great as the absurdity would be of supposing the following case, viz, "That an author could be found in England who should publish a work, in four volumes quarto, in which it should be stated, that in the year 1799 twenty-two women were burnt alive

on the banks of the Thames at Richmond, and that the fire was kept burning three days; and moreover, that the book was published with the express leave of the King, under the eye and responsibility of his government."*

* As certain gentlemen from India have been accused in Parliament of "pertinaciously denying facts, as the easiest mode of resisting the religious improvement of India." it is proposed to do them justice, and to prove their sagacity, by the investigation of the above sacrifice of twenty-two women on one pile: and their attention should be steadily fixed in the contemplation of the subject, until they or their parliamentary accusers shall have obtained the victory. Or if they should like the investigation of the following fact better, it may be adopted with equal propriety: the event occurred in May or June of last year, at Chunakuli, not far from Calcutta; and the account of it was soon after printed and published in Bengal.—A Kooleen Brahmin died at Chunakuli, "who had married twenty-five women, thirteen of whom died during his life time: the remaining twelve perished with him on the funeral pile, leaving thirty children to deplore the fatal effects of this horrid system"—The same printed account immediately states the following fact, as illustrative of the system:—"Some years ago a Kooleen Brahmin, of considerable property, died at Sookachura, three miles east of Serampore (where the Missionaries live.) He had married more than 40 women, all of whom died before him, excepting eighteen. On this occassion a fire, extending ten or twelve yards in length, was prepared, into which the remaining eighteen threw themselves, leaving more than forty children, many of whom are still living."

Or, if the case of the seventy women, who were sacrificed in May and June of last year, within two hundred miles of Calcutta, of whom the twelve abovementioned were a part, and of whom a list and particular account, recording name and place, was lately

Zeigenbalg, and his fellow-missionaries, first gave the only satisfactory account of the manners and religion of the South of India.* It was to be expected that the present Missionaries in Bengal would give the most particular account of the North. In every heathen nation, the Missionaries are generally best qualified to delineate the character of the inhabitants. Both in the Eastern and Western Hemispheres the *religious* men have described the country and manners of the people. The *commercial* men in the East know, in general, very little of the subject. Resident generally in towns or on the sea-coast, and occupied by foreign avocations, they rarely penetrate into the interior, to investigate, under a Meridian sun, the manners and customs of the people. As to the literary men, again, who merely consult books, their advantages of information are confessedly very far inferior to those of the Missionaries. Of this general ignorance of En-

inserted in the public papers, should be thought a more suitable subject for enquiry, it may be undertaken. This, indeed, appears to be the fittest case of all for trial and actual proof; for it is stated that there are "one hundred and eighty-four" WITNESSES, who may be produced; namely, the one hundred and eighty-four orphans of the deceased fathers and sacrificed mothers. The places where these witnesses reside have all been printed; and are not, in general, far from Calcutta.
(See Appendix, No. IX.)

* The transactions of the Tranquebar Mission fill many volumes in quarto, in the German language. A very small portion of them has been translated into English.

glish residents in India concerning native scenes, we have lately had some remarkable examples in the evidence delivered at the bar of the House of Commons. Gentlemen who had occupied high official stations in that country betrayed a defect of information respecting the state of the natives, and the progress of Christianity in different provinces, which has been contemplated by many with utter astonishment. The circumstance, however, may be accounted for, in some degree, by the following consideration. India is not less than three thousand miles in extent.—Now the Shetland Islands are only seven hundred miles from London; but a merchant in London knows very little about the manners and customs of the *Shetland Isles*. Thus it is in Hindostan. A merchant in Bengal knows in general very little of what is passing seven hundred miles from that province. But, if the question respects a distance of two thousand or three thousand miles, it is much if he have a map of the country. In the time of Governor HASTINGS, the life and acts of the illustrious SWARTZ, his contemporary, and of his learned predecessors and their transactions at the Courts of Tanjore and Mysore, and the progress of Christianity in the southern regions and Ceylon, were all of them circumstances nearly as much unknown in Bengal, as the transactions of the Catholic Missionaries at the Court of Pekin, or the state of Christianity in the interior of China.

The great extent of Hindostan in longitude and latitude, may also account, in some degree, for the discrepancy of relations concerning the Hindoo people; for in the nations between Cey-

lon and Cabul, there are as great differences in manners and customs, and religion, as those between the Shetland Isles and Constantinople. Our nation has lately wondered at the flattering account given of the Hindoos at the bar of the House of Commons, by some eloquent advocates for the continuance of their existing state. But the above consideration, of the great extent of the Indian Continent, may suggest the possibility, that, in some favoured region, a people may exist, differing in certain respects, from the Hindoos in general; "a civilized and moral people," who "treat their females with confidence, respect and delicacy;" who practice the virtues of "hospitality and charity;" who are "distinguished by the finest qualities of the mind;" who are "brave, generous and humane; and their truth as remarkable as their courage;" and who, in short, like St. Pierre's "happy Indian family," may well make Christians blush. The accounts do not add whether these Hindoos have renounced the worship of the Lingam; for the adage still holds good, "If you would know the character of the nation, look at the temple." It is a good rule in our general reflections on nations, to beware, lest by unduly exalting paganism, we should debase Christianity. It is yet a better rule to acknowledge the Bible in our old age, and to do some honour to Christianity before we die.* Many of us from India had, certainly, little opportunity of doing honour to

* It is to be hoped, for the credit of British India, that the next generation of gentlemen returning from

Christianity there. Let us then look into the Bible at home; and we cherish with laudable anxiety a desire to do justice to the Hindoos, to give to Brahma that which is Brahma's, let us also endeavour "to give unto God that which is God's." We shall shortly be placed in circumstances, even perhaps before we leave this world, when the reflection that we had "stood on the Lord's side," will be grateful to the soul, and support the sinking spirits; and, when, in the review of all the nations which we have witnessed, and in recollection of their principles and actions, we shall bequeath to them this wish, That the book of God's revealed will may go forth among them, as the best blessing to mankind!

1*st July*, 1813.

that country, will not expose themselves to the severe and pointed remark of Lord Milton, the son of Earl Fitzwilliam, in his Speech in the House of Commons. "I want no more," said he, "to convince me of the necessity of the religious improvement of India, than the sentiments which have been uttered this evening by gentlemen returned from that quarter:"—*Debate of the* 17*th June*, 1813.

LETTER I.

TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS OF THE HON. EAST-INDIA COMPANY.

HONORABLE SIRS,

I WAS yesterday favoured with a copy of a letter addressed by Mr. Charles Buller to your Honourable Court, dated the 19th instant, which has been ordered to be laid on the table of the House of Commons, relating to the worship of the idol Juggernaut; and now I beg leave to submit some remarks on that document. The reference which the writer makes to me by name, and to my publications on this subject, will apologize for my doing myself the honour of addressing your Honourable Court.

Par. 1. Mr. Buller fully confirms, in essential points, the general statements made by me, concerning the part which the Bengal Government has taken in the superintendance of Juggernaut, and in deriving revenue from the worship of the idol; but he defends the policy. With that I have nothing to do. He admits, also, that self-immolation under the wheels of the car is practised, but thinks the instances are rare. I am of opinion that they are rare also; rare, I mean, when compared with the number of females immolated on the funeral pile. He heard

of one immolation while he was at Juggernaut; and I have stated that I saw two.

2. The only part of his letter that I need to notice, is that which relates to the indecency of the exhibition at Juggernaut:—"On that point, (he says) my attention was directed to a publication by the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, who speaks of a priest having pronounced certain obscene stanzas in the ears of the people, and of certain indecent gestures exhibited by a boy and a priest on the car." On this passage Mr. Buller observes:—"I do not mean to doubt the fact." "With respect to the indecent gestures said to have been exhibited on the car, all I can say is, that if such things are done I never saw them." In the foregoing quotations I state what I saw in 1806, and Mr. Buller states what he did not see in 1809.

3. On my witnessing the atrocities at Juggernaut in 1806, I wrote letters from the spot to a Member of the Supreme Government, and to the Senior Chaplain in Bengal, containing portions of my journal as now given to the public, and expressing a hope that the Bengal Government would use its influence in suppressing the sanguinary and indecent exhibitions. These letters were afterwards fairly copied, and put into the hands of many. Men's minds were shocked by the recital, and Government was blamed. It is possible that Mr. Buller may not have heard of these letters, although they were certainly in the hands of his intimate friends; and in that case no blame is imputable to him for not having alluded to them. Previously to this, one of the members of the Supreme Government (Mr. Ud

ny) had protested against any interference at all with the idol Juggernaut*; and the Marquis Wellesley had declined giving his sanction to the law for the superintendance and controul of the temple. The question now was, whether under existing circumstances, the enormity of these scenes might not be, in some degree, qualified. What instructions Government may have given to the Superintendant of the temple on this head, I do not know, as I soon after left the country. If they gave none, this is directly contrary to the evidence of Mr. Graham (himself a Member of the Supreme Government.) before the Committee of the House of Commons. If the Government did issue some instructions on the subject, then that fact alone may account for the difference of the scenes which were exhibited to me in 1806, and Mr. Buller in 1809.†

* See Mr. Udny's Minute: Appendix, No. IV.

† I allege it will be found that Mr. Buller has charged me with an erroneous statement in regard to the existence of that which I *myself contributed to abolish.* Not that I can believe it is abolished. By no means. Licentiousness is accounted as legitimate a character of the Rutt Jattra in India, as it was of the feast of Bacchus among the Greeks. But I collect from Mr. Buller's account, that a circumstance has taken place which I had reason to expect would result from my public remonstrance, and from the influence of the Government at Juggernaut: namely, that there is no longer any improper exhibition in the presence of Europeans of rank or authority. I had myself urged on the Members of the Bengal Government, that although we could not well interfere with these festivals in other

4. I shall now however assume, for the sake of argument, that the Bengal Government did not send instructions to the Superintendant of Juggernaut to endeavour to qualify the enormity of the public exhibitions; and shall proceed to review the opposing statements of Mr. Buller and myself, even under that supposition. I shall simply state in the first place, that what I saw in 1806 was seen, in part at least, by others. I appeal to Henry Hunter, Esq. superintendant of the temple in 1806, and to Capt. Patton and Lieut. Woodcock, military officers in the Company's service, then on duty at Juggernaut, whether they have not at any time witnessed the priest, who, for the time, directed the car of the idol, standing with his long wand in his hand behind the wooden horses, projecting his wand significantly, and with most unseemly action, using at the same time other indecent gestures, and accompanying these gestures with songs and extempore speeches, addressed to a multitude composed of both sexes?*

places, we might do it here; inasmuch as we had now assumed the regulation of the place and temple (the law for the "superintendance and management of the temple" having passed about two months before I arrived,) and as the priests would doubtless be civil to our requests, as receiving their salaries at our hands. This reasoning was admitted; and I was given to understand that something would be done.

* I might also refer to Capt. Comyn, (or Cummin) a visitor, and to other gentlemen who might have visited Juggernaut about that period, some of whom may possibly be now in England.

5. Mr. Buller wonders how I should know that the speeches of the priest were indecent, as he thinks it probable I did not understand the vernacular tongue of the province of Orissa. In reply to this, I have to observe, that I had two translations of the language; one from the indecent gestures of the priest, whose attitudes too plainly interpreted his words; and another from my servants around me, who could translate every word he uttered.

6. The writer has argued, in two different places of his letter, as if I had said that "my *ears* were shocked by hearing the songs." I have used no such words, nor any thing like them. My words are these: "I felt a consciousness of doing wrong, in *witnessing* this disgusting exhibition: and was somewhat appalled by the magnitude and horror of the *spectacle*."

7. The writer marvels, in the next place, that I should have heard any thing distinctly, on account of the noise of the people "clapping their hands, talking, shouting, and merry-making," in a crowd "of about one hundred thousand;" particularly "when owing to the distance of the platform on which the priest stands, one could not by any endeavours get within ten yards of him." Mr. Buller would leave it to be inferred here, that I was not within "ten yards" of the priest:—whereas I state, in the printed account, that "I went on in the procession *close* by the tower;" and, in the letters circulated at Calcutta, it was stated, that I was so close to the tower "as to receive a garland of flowers from the hand of the priest." The fact was, I could touch the car with my hand, during almost the whole time.

8. Mr. Buller observes again, that the "noise of the people was incessant and without intermission, so that he could not hear any thing that was said." Doubtless he could not hear what was said by the priest, if he stood at a distance. It is proper to explain here that, on these occasions, Europeans in India usually look on at a distance, on account of the press of the people. At Juggernaut, in 1806, the English gentlemen usually sat in the Cutchery, or public office, to see the procession pass. I sat there for a while on different days; but I could hear or see nothing distinctly, except at the moment of passing, and I joined the procession. Mr. Buller mentions that some ladies were with him: it is therefore probable that Mr. Buller sat all the while with the ladies in the Cutchery, and they did not follow the idol for two or three hours, to see what was transacting among the people, at their celebration of the famed Rutt Jattra.

9. Mr. Buller thinks that the noise of the people about the car is "incessant, without intermission;" but if he had joined the car, he would have found that this is not the case. When the priest pronounces his stanzas, which he does generally while the car stands still, there is a solemn silence among the people who are near it, and they listen with keen attention: at the conclusion they respond with a sensual yell of approbation, and then urge the car along. Many such yells I am sure Mr. Buller must have heard, although he might not have known what it was that produced them. To suppose that the priest should, on any public occasion, address the peo-

ple and not be listened to, is hardly consistent. Mr. Buller's acknowledged ignorance of this notorious circumstance, viz. that there is a frequent intermission of the noise of the people about the car, and a gaping attention to devour the words of the priest, entirely convinces me that he must be wholly ignorant of many important particulars of the native scenes at Juggernaut.

10. I do not impute it as a fault to Mr. Buller, that he has come away so imperfectly informed respecting the scenes of Juggernaut; nor do I much wonder at it. In the eight years during which I believe we resided together in Calcutta, I never met Mr. Buller once, that I can remember, in the district of the natives, attending a Sahamuron,* or witnessing their processions or religious rites. I never heard that he had any taste for investigating the existing customs of the people, or any solicitude to understand the character of their superstition, whether for the purpose of extending Christianity or of palliating idolatry. And I dare say he will candidly confess, that while he held his high station at Juggernaut, he never dreamed of putting his person to inconvenience or danger, by prosecuting researches of this kind; and that, instead of visiting frequently, with such intent, the noisome precincts of the polluted town and temple, he preferred the salubrious gales at his residence, on the pleasant shores of the neighbouring sea. I do not, I say, impute it as a fault to Mr. Buller, that he has not a taste for such inquiries; but I wonder exceedingly that, under such circum-

* Burning of Women.

stances, he should, in an official letter to your Honourable Court, intended to be laid on the table of the House of Commons, have urged (at least with gravity) two objections so frivolous as the following; First, that possibly I did not understand the dialect of Orissa: and second, that probably, if I did understand it, I was at too great a distance from the speaker to hear what was said. On these two inuendos rests the whole argument of Mr. Buller, on the point in question, addressed to your Honourable Court.

11. Mr. Buller observes, that nothing improper in the exhibition could have been apprehended when he was at Juggernaut, otherwise the gentleman would not have asked the ladies to witness the procession. This is specious; but it amounts to little when the circumstances are explained. Mr. Hunter, in 1806, (long before Mr. Buller's arrival at Juggernaut,) would doubtless discountenance any indecency as much as he could, and would request the officiating priest to suppress it, at least in the presence of Europeans. I certainly had some conversation with Mr. Hunter on the subject. There was no lady at juggernaut when I was there. On occasion of the first lady coming to the place, we may believe that some endeavour would be made, by the interference of the Company's officers, to prevent any thing improper from being practised, while the idol passed the Cutchery. If the director of the car was aware that any particular practice would give offence to the Superintendant of the temple (whose local influence we may suppose is very great,) he would, without doubt, in deference to his rank and authority, suppress

it in his presence, or while passing the Cutchery. But this decides nothing as to the character of the Hindoo festival of the Rutt Jattra. Had Mr. Buller accompanied the car in a private character for a few days, he would have returned to England with very different impressions of the orgies of Juggernaut.*

12. It will be proper to advert to the stanzas of the officiating priest while directing the car. Mr. Buller admits, that "the songs in question, if he may rely on the information he received, are denominated Cubbee." He was rightly informed. They are licentious songs, recounting the amours of their gods, and are replete with obscenity. Mr. Buller apologises for the use of Cubbee in these words; "But whoever knows any thing of the Hindoos, must be aware that their veneration for antiquity will not allow them to depart from any thing which has once formed a part of their ceremonies." This is truly said. If left to themselves, without instruction or regard, the Hindoo people will never depart from their ancient superstitions, however sanguinary or obscene.

13. As to Mr. Buller's attempt to justify the recital of the Cubbee in the public festivals of the Hindoos, by intimating, that it is "a species of song not very unlike that which is admitted into our own sacred writings;" I will not suffer myself to make any comment upon it in a letter addressed to your Honourable Court. Mr. Buller

* I use the old orthography in writing this word. English organs cannot pronounce *Jag,h-nut,h.*

adds, "Ours" (i. e. our Cubbee) "I imagine are not at present read in any parts of our service."

14. The observations and arguments of Mr. Buller, in his letter, go to countenance an opinion that there is no obscenity in the Hindoo worship; that its ancient character has suddenly disappeared; or at least, if it exist in the derivative streams, that it is not to be found at the fountain head. He says that he not only never saw, but that he never heard of any such thing. Mr. Buller knows well, that if he did not chuse to make inquiry, the natives would never let him hear any thing to their disadvantage. But I must beg leave most respectfully to assure your Honourable Court, that Mr. Buller is entirely mistaken in his estimate of the character of the Hindoo worship. The two characteristics of the worship of Brama are impurity and blood. The emblems of the former vice are engraved in durable sculpture every where on the walls of the temple.—Why are they thus engraved? Because they constitute the very essence of the Brahminical superstition. No labour of language, no qualification of expression, can ever do away this most notorious fact. I would add, that there is not a single authentic historian of the Hindoo manners and religion from Tavernier down to this time, who has ventured to dissemble it.

15. Having said thus much on subjects which Mr. Buller controverts, I think it fit now to notice a subject which he does not controvert, namely: the horrible effects of the concourse of Pilgrims at Juggernaut. Mr. Buller considers "that the pilgrims come from all parts of Hindostan, from upwards of 1600 miles distance;

and that a large proportion of these consist of the old and infirm, who come for the express purpose of laying their bones within the precincts of the city" He further argues, that even if there were ten immolations at a single festival, it would not be surprising, considering the extent of the population; "for I suppose," he adds, "the whole of the Hindoo population, as far as Cabul, to be not much short of two hundred millions."

16. Mr. Buller would maintain the proposition, "that the imposition of the tax diminishes the number of pilgrims." But the events of this last year render this proposition very questionable. I would observe in the mean time, that Mr. Buller would place the policy of the tax on a new ground, namely, "the diminution of the number of pilgrims, and the consequent prevention of famine and death." Unfortunately for this argument, it is a well-known fact, that while the temple was under the native dominion, when the tax on admission was higher than it is now, and when a discipline was preserved among the people which we would not think it right to exert, the concourse of pilgrims was yet immense, in peaceable times incredibly great, and the consequent evils in the necessary proportion. Mr. Buller describes the state of Juggernaut, about 1805, in the following words: "During the time that access was allowed to the temple without the tax, the throng of people at the place was so great, and such a considerable number of the poorer classes took that opportunity of visiting the temple, that I was informed that several persons perished from actual want of subsis-

tence. The scenes on the road were, I am told, truly shocking.* But since the tax has been continued, the numbers of the pilgrims, particularly of the lower classes, have considerably diminished."—" I should regret to see the tax abolished, as the abolition of it would render it difficult to restrain and regulate the numerous bodies of pilgrims who resort to the place; and it would in all probability be the cause of the revival of those horrid scenes of distress which were before experienced, when the tax was discontinued, and of which the traces are still to be met with in the numerous human bones on the road."

17. Your Honourable Court will be concerned to hear that the accounts lately received represent the state of Juggernaut as being more shocking than ever. The " revival of those horrid scenes," which Mr. Buller only anticipated from the abolition of the tax, has taken place during its continuance. In the Periodical Accounts recently published, which have been transmitted by the Baptist Mission in India, there is a communication from the correspondents of the Society in Orrissa, Messrs. Peter, Smith, and Green. Mr. Peter had been stationed for some time as Missionary at Balasore, from whence he proceeded to preach at Buddruck, Gaj-poora, and Cuttack, in his way towards Juggernaut. He states, that the anxiety of the pilgrims to hear him explain the Christian faith (for he is a native born, of dark complexion, and speaks the language like them-

* These scenes took place just previously to Dr. Buchanan's visit to Juggernaut, which was in 1806.

selves was unaccountably great; that their avidity to receive copies of the Holy Scriptures was extreme; and that it was altogether beyond his ability to supply the demand. He adds, that the English Colonel and his officers have been present on those occasions. Messrs. Smith and Green write from Cuttack, that the worship of the idol Juggernaut had been more numerously attended than usual. "You would have been astonished," say they, "to see the vast number of pilgrims crossing the river at Cuttack. As far as the eye could reach we could not see the the end of the ranks; it put us in mind of an army going to battle."—"You can easily conceive what a multitude of men, women, and children must have been assembled at the temple for one hundred and fifty, or thereabouts, to have been killed in the crowd. They trod one upon another in approaching the temple gate. Ten Sepoys per company from all the batalions, from Barrackpore to this station, had permission to visit the temple. A famine was produced in the country, and great numbers of the pilgrims died of hunger and thirst. We talked to some of them, but it was of no use. They said, whether we survive or not, we will see the temple of Juggernaut before our death. Numbers killed themselves by falling under the wheels of the idol's car. They laid themselves flat on their backs, for the very purpose of being crushed to death by it."* The number of the pilgrims here said to have been killed in the crowd, may perhaps be overstated, as the writers probably

* Periodical Accounts of Baptist Mission, No. xxiii.

received the report of the natives. But if two-thirds of the number were deducted, the horrible circumstances of the case remain the same.

18. I shall add the testimony of Dr. Carey on the subject of the consumption of human lives at Juggernaut at this time. I need not add, that Dr. Carey is a man of unquestionable integrity; that he has been long held in estimation by the most respectable characters in Bengal, and possesses very superior opportunities of knowing what is passing in India generally. In a letter lately received, he thus expresses himself:

"Idolatry destroys more than the sword, yet in a way which is scarcely perceived. The numbers who die in their long pilgrimages, either through want or fatigue, or from dysenteries and fevers caught by lying out, and want of accommodation, is incredible. I only mention one idol, the famous Juggernaut in Orissa, to which twelve or thirteen pilgrimages are made every year. It is calculated that the number who go thither is, on some occasions, 600,000 persons, and scarcely ever less than 100,000. I suppose, at the lowest calculation, that in the year, 1,200,000 persons attend. Now, if only one in ten died, the mortality caused by this one idol would be 120,000 in a year; but some are of opinion that not many more than one in ten survive, and return home again. Besides these, I calculate that 10,000 women annually burn with the the bodies of their deceased husbands, and the multitudes destroyed in other methods would swell the catalogue to an extent almost exceeding credibility."*

* Periodical Accounts of Baptist Mission, No. xxiii.

With regard to the number of women who burn themselves annually in India, there are two circumstances which render it probable, that it is at least as great as Dr. Carey computes it. The first is, that Mr. Buller, who was long Secretary to the Board of Revenue in India, has calculated that the population, extending as far as Cabul, is not much short of "two hundred millions." The other circumstance is, that a Report has arrived, printed in Bengal at the press of the Missionaries (and your Honourable Court knows the attention of your Bengal Government to every thing that is printed there,) stating, that "Seventy Females had burned themselves in the months of May and June last, between Cossimbazar (about two hundred miles above Calcutta) and the mouth of the Hooghly river, leaving one hundred and eighty-four orphans." The name and age of every woman are given, and also the places where the burning took place, and where the orphans live. These unhappy witnesses can satisfy those persons who may doubt the truth of the printed account.*

19. There is a disposition prevalent at present to disparage the testimony of the Christian Missionaries. It is supposed by their adversaries that, if they can in any way impeach the credit of a promoter of Christianity, they gain somewhat in the present question. But the cause of Christianity will prevail. It will be found, that the profession of Christianity and a desire to promote it, are generally accompanied by a love of truth. The respectability of the Christian

* See Appendix, No. IX.

Missionary will increase in this nation, while the character and testimony of the supporters of Brahma will sink and be diminished It is true, an ardent zeal for the diffusion of the blessings of religion will, in some cases, particularly in the view of impious scenes, excite indignation, and may produce too high a colouring in statement (which is exceedingly reprehensible,) and narrators may make mistakes in description. But still the substance of the facts (which they think it necessary to communicate to their country in defence of the honour of Christianity) will remain. In like manner, a writer, animated by a zeal of a contrary character, may be able, by the power of high embellishment, by noticing indifferent circumstances and entirely suppressing others, to represent the idol Juggernaut as being merely one of "the gay and elegant deities of Greece and Rome;" but the substance of the facts, as stated by others, will remain the same: it will still continue true, that Juggernaut is a fountain of vice and misery to millions of mankind; that the sanguinary and obscene character of the worship is in the highest degree revolting; and that it will be a most happy event when our Christian nation shall dissolve its connection with that polluted place.

20. The annual waste of human life, from the causes that have been mentioned, in the territories under the dominion of the Honourable the East-India Company, is a subject of appalling contemplation. Every friend of humanity must be often putting the question, Is this scene to continue forever? Can there be no melioration of human existence in India? Are there no

means of mitigating the anguish of reflection in England, when we consider that the desolations of Juggernaut exist under our government? Yes, we answer, there are means. We have seen with what avidity the Holy Scriptures are received by the pilgrims. These pilgrims come from every part of India; some from Cabul, a distance of 1600 miles, and some from Samarehand. They are the representatives of a population, amounting, as we have seen, to "two hundred millions." They are of every caste, and many of them of no caste at all. The Bible is, by the inscrutable providence of God, at hand: it has been translated into the languages of India. Would it not, then, be worthy of the East-India Company to order ten thousand copies to be distributed annually at Juggernaut, in any manner that prudence would justify, and experience direct, as a sacred return for the revenue we derive from it, if it should be thought right that that revenue should still be continued? The Scriptures would thus be carried to the extremities of India and the East. Is it possible that the shadow of an objection should arise against such a measure, innoxious, as it is humane and heavenly, in its tendency? Are we afraid that "the wretches who come to lay their bones whithin the precincts of Juggernaut" would mutiny and take away our dominion? Would not the consequence be rather, that "the blessing of Him that was ready to perish" would rest upon you?

I have the honour to be.

Honourable Sirs,

Your most obedient Servant,

C. BUCHANAN.

Kirby Hall, Borobridge, 25th May, 1813.

LETTER II.

TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS OF THE HON. EAST-INDIA COMPANY.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

MY former letter to your Honourable Court of the 25th of May, having been hastily called for, I had not time to notice a certain part of Mr. Buller's letter so fully as the occasion demanded.—I therefore now beg permission to address your Honourable Court a second time.

1. The subject to which I would now beg leave to direct the attention of your Honourable Court, is the attempt made by Mr. Buller to extenuate the impure character of the Hindoo worship. He acknowledges that indecent emblems are sculptured on the temple of Juggernaut, and that he has seen them; but he adds they are merely what may be seen "in representations of ancient sculpture." This is true; they are of the same character with those which ornamented the temple of the obscene god at Rome. Mr. Buller has also, without doubt, seen the painted and engraved emblems on the cars of Juggernaut in Bengal. It is proper to observe that in some places the Rutt, or chariot of the idol, as well as his temple, is covered with characteristic devices. At Ishera, about eight miles from Calcutta, the chariot of Jug-

gernaut is freshly painted previously to the annual Rutt Jattra; and the figures (which exceed all conception for variety of obscenity,) become the objects of sensual gaze to persons of both sexes. It is thought necessary that the god should have his appropriate insignia, before he sets out on his progress. No classical scholar can witness these representations without being reminded of the Phallic ceremonies. Now, if any man were to assert that, after such preparation and with such accompaniment, there was yet no impropriety in a word or action manifested in the subsequent procession, and by a people too who worship the Phallus, could we believe him? For, in endeavouring to elicit the truth on the subject in question, which Mr. Buller has agitated, and to which he has drawn the attention of your Honourable Court and the Imperial Parliament, we ought not to forget (and the whole nation ought at the present time to keep it in mind,) "That the mass of the Hindoo people worship an indecent emblem." Some sects have an allusion to it in the marks of cast painted on their foreheads. Some pagodas assume an analogous shape.* In Sacred groves, and in the temples of Maha-deva (the great god) the significant Lingam presents itself conspicuously to view. It is the daily, emphatical, primeval, and almost universal worship of the Hindoo people. For the truth of this fact I refer your Honourable Court to every civil and military officer in your service who has passed through Hindostan; and to

* Paolina, p. 379.

every historian of the customs and superstition of the Hindoos that can be produced.

2. The Rutt Jattra bears some analogy to the ancient feasts of Bacchus. Learned men entertain no doubt of the fact. "The worship of Bacchus was the same as that which is paid to Siva. It had the same obscenities, the same bloody rites, and the same emblem of the generative power."* An author well versed in the mythology of the South of India, expressly calls the Rutt at the temple of Ramisseram "the car of Bacchus."† The temple of Ramisseram is also within the territories of the East India Company, and is nearly as famous in the South, as Juggernaut is in the North, of India. A partic-

* Asiatic Researches, vol. viii. p. 50.

† "The triumphal cars, employed to carry about the images of their gods on days of solemnity, are also of beautiful workmanship. Some of these cars cost from 20 to 30,000 rupees. Of this kind is the car of Bacchus, in the temple Ramanacoil (or Ramisseram) on the boundaries of the Kingdom of Marava. There are others of like kind also at Tiruvancoda, Cangipuri and Jagarnat."—*Paolino, p.* 390.

"Besides these grand festivals, there are several others; such as the Shiva-ratri or the Night of Shiva; on which the Phallophoria ceremonies that relate to the worship of the Lingam are celebrated. On this occasion all the inhabitants of both sexes hasten in great numbers to the temple of Shiva or Maha-deva; remain there the whole night; sing all sorts of indecent songs in honor of the Lingam; go a hundred times in solemn procession around the temple or around a tree, under which a Lingam is placed: and carry about with them, at the same time, a wooden representation of the Lingam amidst dancing and singing."—*Paolino, p.* 361.

ular account of the scenes exhibited at the Rutt Jattra of that place, may, I understand, be soon expected. In the mean time the Rev. Mr. Cordiner's narrative may suffice. That gentleman describes the "Swamy Coaches" or Rutts at Ramisseram, which place he visited in 1804, in the following terms: "The outside is covered with an extraordinary assemblage of obscene images representing lewd and indecent scenes too scandalous in the eyes of an European to admit of a description. Each carriage has four wheels of solid wood, and requires two hundred men to draw it. When they are dragged along the streets, on occasions of great solemnity, women, in the phrenzy of false devotion, throw themselves down before the wheels, and are crushed to death by their tremendous weight, the same superstitious madness preventing the ignorant crowd from making any attempt to save them." —*Cordiner's History of Ceylon, vol. ii. p.* 16.

3. It ought further to be observed, that the Phallic worship includes the Hindoo Triad, Brahma, Vishnoo, and Sheva. The pedestal is the type of Brahma, the Yoni that of Vishnoo, and the Lingam or Phallus that of Sheva.* And so peculiar are the effects of this impure worship on the minds of the Hindoos, that they are disposed to symbolize the objects of nature in a manner analogous to it. If a man digs a pond, he considers it as a Yoni, or emblem of female nature, and he consecrates it by fixing in it a mast decorated with a chaplet of flowers. The sea, or well or cave, conveys a similar type. A

* Sonnerat, vol. i. p. 179.

mountain, obelisk, or any thing conical, excites the idea of the Lingam.* Thus, in like manner as Christians spiritualize natural scenes for an edifying purpose, the Hindoos *sensualize* the objects of nature.

4. It seems worth while to consider what was the ultimate object of Mr. Buller, in addressing your Honourable Court, and through you the Council of the Nation, on the rites of Juggernaut. It could not be merely to describe more accurately the circumstances of a Hindoo festival; or, to offer an opinion respecting the sculptures on the temple, for the satisfaction of the antiquary. Had these been his objects, I should not have been disposed to notice them. But his purpose seems to me to have been, to exculpate the Hindoo worship from the charge of blood and impurity, in order that our Christian nation might feel itself justified in leaving the Hindoo people as they are—involved in a baneful superstition.

5. In regard to the charge of blood, the seventy immolations of females in Bengal in the months of May and June last, just brought before the public, will be a sufficient answer.† The same proportion of human life is supposed to be devoted to destruction in the same way every current month. This is a horrid and painful recital to the feelings of the nations! The cry of such blood, arising from a country placed under a Christian administration, cannot fail to enter the ears of the Lord of Sabhaoth.

* Moor's Hindu Pantheon, p. 379.

† See Appendix, No. IX.

6. As to the impurity of the Hindoo worship, all the argument of Mr. Buller in extenuation of it is, (without referring at present to its obvious principle,) that when he happened to be at Juggernaut, he did not see any thing improper in the scene. He admits, indeed, that he might have heard the *Cubbee*, had he been near enough. But of what consequence is it whether there be a cessation of indecency at times before Europeans at Juggernaut or not? If there were even a complete cessation, what, I would ask, is the occasional exhibition of indecency at a public festival, compared to the common, constant, characteristic impure worship of the people? Is Mr. Buller prepared to inform us, that the worship of the *Lingam* has ceased? or that it has been diminished in his time? or that he indulges the smallest hope that it ever will be diminished? Why then need he be at pains to make the Hindoos appear a chaste and decorous people in the eyes of the English, when his own eyes must have witnessed their impure worship times without number?

7. Every man who has studied the genius of the Hindoo superstition, knows that the contemplation of indecent emblems, from early youth, is a fountain of licentiousness to the people. The prostitution of the heart to sensual images in the daily worship, is the deep, copious, prolific source of general impurity of heart, and indecency of speech and action.—With such an ordinance of worship prescribed from infancy, can we believe it possible that any people should consider laciviousness as a sin against God? They might indeed consider it as a sin against

public reputation, and against political principle; for the policy of the rudest nations will restrain community of vice. But that the Hindoos in general account lasciviousness a sin against God, is what I think the boldest advocate for their religion will not venture to affirm.*

8. Let our Christian nation then behold the greater part of the Hindoo people, a hundred million, at least, of our fellow-creatures falling prostrate before a black stone, and that black stone an indecent emblem! Let us imagine the females decorating it, according to their constant custom, with flowers! Let us contemplate the probable effects, (without any specific relation) of such a worship on the general morals of the people; and then let us deny to India the instruction of Christianity, if we can.

9. One argument urged sometimes by the European defenders of the Phallic worship is, That young persons do not understand the emblems, as they are not exhibited entirely in the

* "It is probable that the idea of obscenity was not originally attached to these symbols; and it is likely that the inventers themselves might not have foreseen the disorders which this worship would occasion amongst mankind. Profligacy easily embraces what flatters its propensities, and ignorance follows blindly wherever example excites. It is therefore no wonder that a general corruption of manners should ensue, increasing in proportion as the distance of time involved the original meaning of the symbol in darkness and oblivion. Obscene mirth became the *principal* feature of the popular superstition, and was even, in aftertimes, extended to and intermingled with gloomy rites and bloody sacrifices."—*Asiat. Res. vol. xiii. p. 55.*

natural form. But where is the sense of supposing a person worshipping emblems which he does not understand? One should think, that the very first business of the Brahmins would be to make the pubescent youth understand them. Besides, is it not admitted that the people pronounce at their festivals certain licentious songs, which must soon explain the supposed mysteries;—admired and familiar songs consecrated by religion and ancient use? Ancient they doubtless are, and bear a strict analogy to the Phallica Asmata, the Phallic songs of Greece and Egypt.

10. But the grand apology of certain philosophers for the worship of the Lingam and its companion, has been, that they are merely symbols of the procreative power of the Deity; and therefore that the worshippers may have very sublime conceptions, and cherish very pure thoughts, notwithstanding the presence of such objects. I do not, however, believe that there exists a philosopher among us, who will now seriously avow and defend the proposition, That the constant exhibition of sensual images will not taint the purity of the youthful mind.*

* "The Sacte of Siva, whose emblem is the Phallus is herself typified by the female organ. This the Sactas worship; some figuratively—others LITERALLY." In this last mentioned sect "(the Sactas) as in most others, there is a right-handed and decent path, and a left handed and indecent mode of worship; but the indecent worship of this sect is most grossly so, and consists of unbridled debauchery with wine and women." "They require their wives to be naked when attending them at their devotions."—See Mr. Colebrook on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindoos. *As. Res. vol.* vii. *pp.* 280, 281.

11. The only object which I can conceive Mr. Buller to have had in writing the letter which has been laid before Parliament, is that of insinuating that the Hindoos are not imbued by such impure principles as has been asserted, and that therefore it need give us no pain to see them remain as they are. It becomes necessary, therefore, on the other hand, to assert the truth; and (however painful it must be to the pure mind) to reveal the whole scene of the polluted worship of Brahma, in its principle, essence, origin, and practice. Let us only suppose (to bring this matter home to our feelings,) that the youth of both sexes in Great Britain were brought to the temple, and instructed to worship indecent symbols; and what must be the effect on their moral habits! Is it then to be regarded as either decent or humane to labor to perpetuate this unseemly worship of our fellow-subjects in India by excluding true religion; or to endeavour to extenuate its moral turpitude in the face of a nation professing the pure religion of Jesus Christ?

12. Mr. Buller has told us, that he saw obscene sculptures on the walls of Juggernaut; but has not told us what he heard of the scenes within. Had he wished to give the English nation a just idea of the worship of Brahma, there are two circumstances of a fundamental character in relation to that worship, which he would no doubt have mentioned in the outset, viz.

First, The band of courtesans retained for the service of the temple. These form a part of the religious procession in the public streets on certain days, and are kept in every great temple of

Hindostan. From infancy they are prepared by education and elegant accomplishments for public seduction. Now, these priestesses form the character of the worship, "being consecrated," says Sonnerat, "to the honor of the gods." They are the ministers of the idol, and it is a part of their service "to sing hymns to his praise." Is Mr. Buller then prepared to inform us that this character of the worship is abolished, and that the courtesans at Juggernaut do not receive the accustomed stipend presented, with other charges, for the sanction of the English Government? He knows that we might as well attempt to raze the tower of Juggernaut from its foundations as attempt to remove this constituent part of the Brahminical ritual. And thus it is throughout the extensive regions of the Hindoo idolatry—the ministration of the priestesses being a natural fruit of the worship of the Lingam. Does not this admitted fact alone set the question at rest respecting the character of the worship in question? In regard, however, to its moral effects; for that, after all, is the main object to be considered: let us only suppose that the youth of Great Britain, of both sexes, were accustomed to worship at the altar in company with a band of impure females, invested with a sacred character, and then to witness the songs and dances of those females in the same place, and what would be the character of the people of this country in a few years?

Second: In my printed account of the transactions at Juggernaut, I wished to state merely what I myself saw; and therefore as I was not within the temple, I have not thought fit to men-

tion what I heard. But Mr. Buller having resided for some time at the place, and having held while there a high official station, must have had various opportunities of obtaining satisfactory information as to the character of the scenes within the temple, particularly at certain festivals; and under such circumstances he might have stated what he had heard to the public with perfect confidence. Is all then, according to Mr. Buller's information and belief, pure, is all decorous, within the temple? And, if it be not, what signifies it whether, at certain festivals, the ministering priest used unseemly attitudes in the presence of the European superintendant or not? If there actually be impurity "within," in the sacred place—in the recess of sanctity—how can a vindication of Juggernaut remove this corner-stone from Brahma's temple?*

* That the worship of Brahma is constitutionally impure, is demonstrated by the following fact. There are temples of consecration for a life of impurity; these exist at Cambaya, Tivikary, and other places, in Hindostan. Tavernier first, I believe, among Protestant authors, (he was a French Protestant merchant,) mentioned the existence of this system. "From Cambaya," says he, "you go to a little village distant some three coss, where there is a pagod, to which all the Indian courtesans come to make their offerings. This pagod is full of a great number of naked images. Among the rest, there is a large figure of one that seems to resemble Apollo, with his parts all uncovered."—Girls of eleven or twelve years old, who have been bought and educated for the purpose, are sent by their mistresses to this pagod, "to offer and surrender themselves up to this idol."—[Tavernier's Travels in India, p. 37, fol. ed. 1678.]

13. I would not impute a bad motive to those Asiatic gentlemen who maintain a different opinion from me on these subjects. Much allowance is to be made for the effects of an imperfect education previously to leaving England, and for the constitutional habits which grow upon men by long intercourse with Indian scenes, and which, in some instances, have changed the very principles and character; but I apprehend, that those who labor to extenuate the atrocities of the Hindoo idolatry may be justly charged with two most serious delinquencies:—First, by defending and confirming a sanguinary and obscene superstition, they are in effect guilty of the utmost cruelty towards whole nations of men;—and secondly, they are guilty of a culpable indifference to the truth and excellency of the Christian religion.

I have the honor to be,
Honorable Sirs,
Your obedient Servant,
C. BUCHANAN.

Kirby Hall, Borobridge,
8th June, 1813.

For the import of this last expression, see Anquetil du Perron's description of the pagoda of *Tivikary*, and of the rite observed by "les jeuness Brahminess," in his Zeud Avesta, vol. i. p. 29.—From these temples of consecration, issue females for the other pagodas and for the general Indian public. Thus we see that there exists in this world a superstition, whose principle is "to hallow impurity." But surely Atheism itself will not defend a system which would sanctify the act of wickedness by a solemn rite of religion. Tavernier was at Cambaya about 1640. What a vast and extended scene of turpitude,

LETTER AND MEMORIAL

TO

LORD MINTO.

LETTER.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE LORD MINTO, &c. &c. &c.

MY LORD,

I BEG leave respectfully to submit to your Lordship some particulars regarding the present state of the Christian Religion in Bengal, which I have thought it my duty to communicate for your Lordship's information at this time.

I trust your Lordship will do me the justice to believe that it is with the utmost reluctance I trouble your Lordship with a letter on such a

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amongst our fellow-creaturos, presents itself to the imagination from that time to this! Is it possible that any man whose mind has been cultivated under the influence (in the least degree) of Christian principles, can permit himself to say of such a system, Let it flourish; let it continue for ages!

subject so soon after your entrance on this government, when as yet, few if any, of the circumstances noticed in it can have come to your Lordship's knowledge.

I have no other view in soliciting your Lordship's attention to them, but the advancement of learning and religion. Perhaps no one has addressed your Lordship on the subject since your arrival; and there are certainly many particulars regarding their present state, which it is of importance your Lordship should know.

Being about to leave India, I feared lest I should hereafter reproach myself, if I withheld any thing at this time which I conceived might be useful, particularly as I have been further encouraged to address your Lordship, by your Lordship's known condescension in receiving any communications which are honestly intended.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
With much respect,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
(Signed) C. BUCHANAN.

Calcutta,
9th November, 1807.

MEMORIAL.

TO THE RIGHT HON. GILBERT, LORD MINTO, GOVERNOR-GENERAL, &c. &c. &c.

MY LORD,

1. I HAD the honor to receive a letter from the Chief Secretary to the Government, under

date the 11th September, desiring that I would submit, for the inspection of Government, the manuscript of some Sermons on the Prophecies, which I intended to publish. I shall willingly submit these discourses to your Lordship's perusal, and shall be happy to receive such observations on them as your Lordship's learning and candor may suggest; but I cannot submit them to the judgment of the Officers of the Government. My reasons for declining to comply with the wishes of Government in this respect, it is incumbent on me to state; and I feel confident your Lordship will consider them to be satisfactory.

2. It will not have escaped your Lordship's observation, even in the short period since your arrival, that some of the officers of your Lordship's government do not manifest any zeal for promoting the knowledge of the Christian Religion in India: they consider, that a zeal in this respect would not be consonant to a wise and prudent policy. I am willing to believe that they advise according to the best of their judgment; but a principle pure and just in itself, if it be not tenderly exercised in reference to other important obligations, may become extravagant or pernicious. For instance, not to promote Christianity may, in certain circumstances, be prudent; but to repress Christianity will not, I think, in any case, be defended. It is not necessary to observe to your Lordship how much the minds of Europeans assimilate to the native character after a long residence in this country, and how difficult it is for men, even of good sense and honest intentions, while in-

volved in the mist of this prejudice, to view the Christian religion in the true light.

3. During the administration of the Marquis Wellesley, the spirit of promoting learning and religion in India was general and ardent; but after the departure of that nobleman, a great revolution took place. A spirit directly adverse to the diffusion of religion in India, most unexpectedly broke forth, just as if it had been confined by his presence. This spirit appeared long before the insurrection in Vellore. I mention this, lest your Lordship should suppose that it originated with that event; for I understood that the "Massacre at Vellore" has been unaccountably adduced as some sanction to the principle of opposing the progress of the Christian Religion in Bengal. I had opportunities of judging of the causes of that event, which were peculiar. I was in the vicinity of the place at the time; I travelled for two months immediately afterwards in the provinces adjacent, with the sanction of Government; and I heard the evidence of Christians, Mahometans, and Hindoos, on the subject. That the insurrection at Vellore, had no connection with the Christian Religion, directly or indirectly, immediately or remotely, is a truth which is capable of demonstration.

4. The spirit so hostile to the progress of Christianity in India, appeared first in operation about two years ago, and has been acquiring strength ever since. It has exhibited itself in a series of acts, the recital of which will sufficiently illustrate to your Lordship the temper of mind which produced them. These acts are,

however, not to be considered as the official and acknowledged measures of the respectable person, who preceded your Lordship in the government. Sir George Barlow has often expressed his approbation of the means used for the diffusion of Christianity in India, and he sincerely desires its success. These measures have not been generally considered as the offspring of his unbiassed judgment. Besides, most of them are extra official, and with some of them he is perhaps yet unacquainted. They will probably appear to your Lordship to have been dictated by a timorous policy, proceeding from minds somewhat agitated by the responsibility of a weighty empire, viewing at the same time Christianity as an innovation in India, and magnifying that innovation, perhaps, into a revolution. The acts which have plainly manifested this alarm are many. It will suffice to notice to your Lordship the four following:

5. First. The withdrawing the patronage of Government from the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the Oriental Tongues.

The translation of the Scriptures had commenced in the College of Fort William, at the expense of Government. When the Honorable the Court of Directors directed a reduction of the expenses of that institution, it was resolved to make provision for the continuation of the translation of the Scrtptures by public subscription, and to exonerate the Government entirely. It was accordingly proposed that a Committee of the College and of others should superintend the translations, and controul the expenditure. This measure had been recom-

mended by certain of the bishops and by some noble persons in England, who wished to aid us in the translation of the Scriptures; and the countenance of the College was merely desired, with the view that the important work might be conducted strictly in the principles of the national church, and not fall entirely into the hands of dissentors as it has since done. Your Lordship will be surprised to hear that this proposition was rejected. Government withdrew its patronage from the work entirely, and even refused to give its countenance to the subscription. The immediate consequences of this unexpected blow was the loss of ample funds: for there appeared at the time, throughout all India, a disposition to encourage a literary undertaking which was deemed so honorable to the nation.

Considering the difficulty of obtaining fit instruments for the conduct of such a work, the religious and moral importance of the work itself, and its advantages to the general interests of Oriental Literature, your Lordship will believe, that this forfeiture of public encouragement, under such auspicious circumstances, has ever been viewed with regret by the friends of learning and of religion in Europe and in India.

This disappointment, however, has had one favorable result; it accelerated the establishment of "the Christian Institution in the East,"*

* Early in 1806, in the view of the Translations of the Scriptures ceasing in the College of Fort William, Dr. Buchanan resolved to devote whatever influence he possessed in his official character as Vice-Provost

which carries the translation of the Scriptures, in some of the languages, into regions far beyond the control of the Bengal Government.

of the College, to the aid of the Translations in the hands of the Baptist Missionaries, and to endeavor to excite as much of public interest in their favor as possible. For this purpose he drew up "Proposals for a Subscription for translating the Holy Scriptures into the following Oriental Languages; *Shanscrit, Bengalee, Hindoostanee, Persian, Mahratta, Guzerattee, Orissa, Carnata, Telinga, Burmah, Assam, Bootan, Tibet, Malay* and *Chinese;*" containing a prospectus of Indian versions, and observations on the practicability of the general design: signed by the nine Baptist Missionaries, and dated "Mission-House, Serampore, March, 1806." That paper was composed entirely by Dr. Buchanan, part of it from materials furnished by the Missionaries. But as it was apprehended the name "Baptist" might not be auspicious to the design in the general view of the public, Dr. Buchanan did not admit that word, but designated them "Protestant Missionaries in Bengal;" as it stands in the proposals. Copies were distributed liberally in India and in England. To some of those distributed in England was prefixed a frontispiece representing a Hindoo receiving the Bible, and "bending to the Christian Faith." Copies were transmitted to almost the whole of the principal civil officers, and to many of the military officers in the Honorable Company's service throughout Hindostan, from Delhi to Travancore; many of whom had never heard of the Serampore Mission before. Dr. Buchanan obtained permission, at the same time, to send the proposals, in his official character as Vice-Provost of the College, free of expense to all parts of the empire; and he accompanied them in most instances, with a letter from himself. The design received encouragement from every quarter; and a sum of about 1600 pounds was soon raised for the translations; to

6. Second. Attempting to suppress the translation of the Scriptures.

which the late Rev. David Brown contributed 250 pounds.

The concurrence of the public was the more easily obtained from its being implied in the proposals that the undertaking would enjoy the countenance of the College. That expectation was expressed in the following terms;

"Par. 11. Our hope of success in this great undertaking depends chiefly on the patronage of the College of Fort William. To that institution we are much indebted for the progress we have already made. Oriental translation has become comparatively easy, in consequence of our having the aid of those learned men from distant provinces in Asia, who have assembled, during the period of the last six years, at that great emporium of Eastern Letters. These intelligent strangers voluntarily engage with us in translating the Scriptures into their respective languages; and they do not conceal their admiration of the sublime doctrine, pure precept, and Divine eloquence of the word of God The plan of these translations was sanctioned at an early period by the Most Noble the Marquis Wellesley, the great patron of useful learning. To give the Christian Scriptures to the inhabitants of Asia is indeed a work which every man, who believes these Scriptures to be from God, will approve. In Hindostan alone, there is a great variety of religions; and there are some tribes which have no certain cast or religion at all. To render the revealed religion accessible to men who 'desire' it; to open its eternal sanctions, and display its pure morals to those who 'seek a religion'; is to fulfil the sacred duty of a Christian people, and accords well with the humane and generous spirit of the English nation.

"12. It may also be expected, that the design will be generally encouraged, on the ground of its promo-

An attempt was next made to suppress the translation of the Scriptures entirely, and this attempt had almost succeeded.

ting the diffusion of Oriental Literature, and affording new facilities to Europeans in obtaining a knowledge of the various languages of this great empire. With every translation of the Scriptures into a new language, it is intended to give a grammar of that language, if none already exist.

"13. A copy of these proposals has been forwarded to the British Ambassador at Petersburg, with a request that he would submit them to his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias; some of the languages above mentioned being spoken in regions bordering on the territories of his Majesty."

Although the Government of Bengal withdrew its patronage, most of the individuals in every part of India whose support was then secured, being satisfied that the simple translation of the Holy Scriptures must ever be a measure utterly devoid of objection, have continued steady friends to the undertaking to this day.

Afterwards, when Dr. Buchanan visited the southern regions of India, and had witnessed the triumph of Christianity on the one hand, and the horrors of Paganism on the other, he conceived the design of an institution of a more general nature for Oriental Illumination, than that confined to Bengal. [See his meditation on the banks of the Chilka Lake, on a Sunday morning, in view of the tower of Juggernaut.—Chris. Res. p. 142.] And on his return to Calcutta in the following year, he proposed to the Baptist Mission, that the different societies and individuals in India, engaged in translating the Scriptures, should associate (merely in that character) under the name of "The Christian Institution in the East," or the "British Propaganda;" in order that their operations might have the appearance of being national and not sectarian; and that thus they might be able to vie

To suppress the translation of the Scriptures, is to suppress the Scriptures. I can make no further observation on this, in addressing your Lordship.

with the "Romish Propaganda," whose fame is yet alive in Asia. It was proposed that the Missionary pursuits, properly so called, and the individual establishments of each society should remain peculiar and private as before: but that the translators of the Scriptures should act in concert, and maintain an amicable correspondence with each other, under the general superintendance of the Rev. Mr. Brown, Provost of the College of Fort William, who had formerly, in discharge of his office as Provost, superintended the translations of the Scriptures in the College; and would now continue to be the organ of communication to Government, and be responsible for the views and proceedings of the general society. This proposition the Baptist Society declined; and in consequence, the proposed name of "Christian Institution" was but partially assumed. The other branches, nevertheless, were generally associated; and the Rev. Mr. Brown superintended those branches of the department of Scriptural Translation, as they came successively into operation, to the day of his death, viz. the Rev. Henry Martyn and his co-adjutors Sabat and Mirza Fitrut, translators of the *Hindoostanee* and *Arabic*, at Cawnpore; Messrs. Cran and Desgranges, translators of the *Telinga*, at Visagapatam; Thomas Jarrett, Esq. translator of the Sumatra or Western *Malay*, at Madras;* the Syrian Bishop and his priests, translators of the *Malay alim*, at Travancore; Sebastiani, translator of the *Persian*, at Calcutta; and Dr. Leyden of the College of Fort William, translator of the *Pushtu*, *Maldivian*, *Baloch*, *Macassar*, and *Bugis* languages. Mr. Brown also opened a correspondence with Tan-

* *Dr. Buchanan does not know whether Mr. Jarrett continued to prosecute the translation after he left India.*

7. Third. Suppressing the encomium of the Hon. the Court of Directors, on their venerable missionary the Rev. Mr. Swartz.

The Honorable Court had sent out to Fort St. George a marble monument, to be erected in the church of St. Mary, to the memory of Mr. Swartz, inscribed with a suitable epitaph; and they announced it, in their general letter, dated 29th October, 1806, as a testimony of the deep sense they entertained of his transcendent merit, of his unwearied labors in the cause of religion and piety, and of his public services at Tanjore, where the influence of his name and character was for a long course of years productive of important benefits to the Company. The Honorable Court further adds: "On no subject has the Court of Directors been more unanimous, than in their anxious desire to perpetuate the memory of this eminent person, and to excite in others an emulation of his great example." They direct, finally, that "translations shall be made of the epitaph into the country languages, and published at Madras, and that the native inhabitants shall be encouraged to view the monument."

jore, Tranquebar, and Columbo, concerning editions of the Scriptures in the *Tamul* and *Cingalese*.

Exclusive of the 1600 pounds above-mentioned to have been subscribed for translations by the Baptist Missionaries, Dr. Buchanan had put down his name for 5000 rupees, 620 pounds; but after his return from visiting the Christians in Travancore and other places, he withdrew his subscription from the Northern Mission which was now well patronised, and applied it to similar objects in the South, where it was most wanted.

The Christians in Bengal were of course rejoiced to hear of the honorable testimony to the apostolic Swartz, and they expected that it would be acknowledged here, as at Fort St. George and Bombay; but they were disappointed; there was no recognition of the venerable Missionary in Bengal. The epitaph was not inserted in the Calcutta Gazette, nor was the slightest notice taken of the circumstance. And lest it might be supposed that it was omitted by accident, the official notice of the Governor in Council at Fort St. George, which appeared subsequently, relative to the day of commemoration, was also suppressed.

But what followed was yet more painful.—Your Lordship will judge of the feelings of the Christians in this place, when they read, in the Government Gazette of the week following, an article whose obvious tendency was to bring the labors and character of the Christian Missionary into contempt.* Thus, while the Honorable the East India Company were adorning the sepulchres of their Missionaries and embalming their memory in the South, their own servants were treating the character with indignity in the North. We were at first alarmed, lest this might be the signal for the other papers to com-

* The Mission to Greenland and Labrador, whose civilizing efficacy on the rude inhabitants of those regions has long been a theme of admiration to the Christian world, is held forth in that paper to public ridicule; and the simple narrative of the pious well-meaning Missionaries, is declared to "exhibit a degree of canting fanaticism well worthy of the followers of Cromwell."—*Calcutta Gazette, Sept.* 17, 1807.

mence an attack on the humble and defenceless Missionaries; but we were happy to find, that not one of the seven papers of this Presidency followed the example of the official Gazette.

As it is not probable that any of the particulars above mentioned, have as yet come to your Lordship's knowledge, I beg leave to refer your Lordship to the enclosed printed paper (A) published by the authority of the Government of Fort St. George.

8. Fourth. Restraining the Protestant Missionaries in Bengal, from the exercise of their functions, and establishing an Imprimatur for theological works.

Men's minds were prepared by the preceding circumstances, to expect little indulgence to Missionaries, but they were certainly not prepared to expect the event which followed.

The success of the Protestant Mission in Bengal had long been a source of uneasiness to those officers of Government who do not think it right to convert the natives. Some of the native Moonshees attached to the public offices, well knowing, from long acquaintance, their masters' sentiments on this subject, have not failed from time to time to urge them to countenance their petitions, and to lend their voice in accusing the Missionaries. Some clamour of this kind was raised at two different times within the last seven years; but it passed away without offence to the Christian Religion. The complaint of the Moonshees against the Missionaries, on the present occasion, is not, I understand, so serious as the former: they complain, that the Missionaries have, in a certain paper, "applied abusive

epithets to Mahomet." The Missionaries certainly mistake the proper method of convincing the minds of men, if they use epithets of abuse; the successful method of preaching is by argument and affectionate address; and I presume this has been their general method during the fourteen years of their mission, else we cannot suppose their labors would have been followed with so much success.

At the same time, Christian Teachers are not to speak with reverence or courtesy of Juggernaut or Mahomet; they must speak as the Scriptures speak; that is, of false gods as false gods, and of a lying prophet as a lying prophet. The Mahometans apply abusive epithets and vulgar curses to the idolatry of the Hindoos and to the faith of Christians, and these epithets are contained in books; and Government might, on the same principle, have been assailed with the petitions of Christians and Hindoos against the Mahometans. If the natives choose to go to hear the preaching or to read the books of the Missionaries, it is their pleasure to do so—it is no concern of Government. These poor Missionaries are not official characters: they have no power, no authority, no riches; and this the natives well know. They are like the first Apostles, contemned and despised by all casts; and if they are bereaved of the countenance of their own Government, they are bereaved indeed.

The complaint, however, of the Mahometans has produced a very serious event. The Protestant Missionaries in Bengal were prohibited, by

order of Government dated 8th September last, from preaching to the natives.*

The Protestant Mission being situated at Serampore, a town belonging to the King of Denmark, the English Government requested the Danish Governor to give up the Mission Press, and ordered the Missionaries to remove to Calcutta. The Danish Governor resisted this demand, on the plea of the sovereignty of his nation;† and the English Government revoked their requisition. The English Government then issued an order prohibiting the Missionaries from printing any books, "directed to the object of converting the natives to Christianity." On this a question was proposed officially to the British Government by the Danish Governor; a question which your Lordship will be concerned to think should ever have been necessary.—It was this: "Whether, among the books prohibited by the British Government, the Bible in

* It was generally understood that the former administration were unwilling to encounter the public odium of accomplishing this measure; and that, by pressing it with a serious countenance on Lord Minto immediately on his arrival, they surprised the Governor-general.

† Dr. Buchanan was misinformed in this particular. The Danish Governor did not, it seems, resist the demand, on the plea of the sovereignty of his nation, although he might have so done if it had pleased him; but he solicited the revocation of the demand, on the ground of "the distress to which the Missionaries would be exposed by the English Government's exacting a compliance with it," and on the ground of the convenience of the press to the Danish Government.

the Bengalee language was included?" The answer to this question your Lordship will read with yet more concern. It was the following: "We are not aware of any objection to the promulgation of the Scriptures in the Bengalee language, unaccompanied by any comments on the religions of the country:" that is, the English Government were not "aware that there was any objection to the publication of the Bible, yet they were not certain." At all events, it must have "no comment on the religions of the country:" that is, it must not be said of the Bible—"This is the word of the true God, and more worthy of belief than the Veda of Brahma:" nor must any illustration of its truth be noticed by reference to the Hindoo doctrines; for instance, by appealing to their own ideas of a Trinity, of an atonement, and of the "man twice born."

After some consideration, the English Government qualified (but did not revoke) their prohibition respecting works "directed to the object of converting the natives," and informed the Missionaries officially that, "whatever they printed for the future, must be submitted to the inspection of the officers of Government:" and here the matter ended. An official Imprimatur is established for the theological works of the Protestant Missionaries; and preaching to the natives, beyond the limits of the Danish town, is entirely prohibited: and this, of course, amounts to nearly a total suppression of the Mission.

The chief inconvenience of the Imprimatur imposed is, not that religious books shall be submitted to the officers of Government, but that they must be submitted to the "native" of-

ficers of Government. If, indeed, the Christian officers of Government understood the Bengalee, Arabic, Orissa, Mahratta, and Chinese languages, then might the Missionaries expect that Christians would revise their works; but a Hindoo must revise the Bengalee, and a Mahometan the Arabic. Those very Mahometans who impeached the Missionaries in the first instance will necessarily be employed next to revise their theology. Was it ever heard that a Hindoo or a Mahometan gave a candid judgment of a Christian book? They will, of course, obliterate all passages which offend their own superstitions, and particularly those quotations from Scripture which speak of lying prophets, or the sin of idolatry.

I now beg leave to request your Lordship's attention to the plea on which these proceedings against the Protestant Missionaries have been grounded. It is this; "that the public faith has been pledged to leave the natives in the undisturbed exercise of their religions." This is a proper pledge of our Legislature. It is proper not to disturb the natives in the exercise of their religion; nor has this pledge ever been broken, directly or indirectly. It is proper not to interfere with, or by violence to prevent, the superstition of the natives, if not criminal in itself, or affecting the public peace. But if, by the expression, "not disturbing the natives in the exercise of their religion," be meant that "we are not to use means for diffusing the knowledge of Christianity among them," then it is to be observed, that this pledge has been violated by every Government in India, and has

been systematically broken by the Honorable the East India Company from the year 1698 to the present time. The fact is, they have pledged themselves to a conduct just the reverse. The East India Company hold this country by a Charter, which expressly stipulates that they shall use means to instruct the Gentoos, &c. in the Christian Religion. (William III. 15th Sept. 1698.) And this stipulation is in perfect accordance with their pledge of not disturbing the natives in the exercise of their superstitions by force, inasmuch as it is a very different thing to apply arguments to the mind and to inflict wounds on the body. It is their duty to civilize their barbarous subjects, and to teach them humanity, and for that purpose to address their understandings and their affections. At the same time, it is their duty not to disturb the exercise of their superstition by compulsory acts; and the Legislature has stipulated for the performance of both duties; and the first duty is as positive as the second. They first stipulate to do good, and they next stipulate not to do evil; and in consequence of this stipulation, the Honorable Company have constantly aided the Christian Missions in India; and at this time, they devote a considerable sum annually to their support.—The Protestant Mission in Bengal commenced in 1758. The Honorable Company's ships brought out the annual supplies for this Mission, and before the year 1770, religious tracts were translated into the Bengalee language; and Hindoo Christians preached to their countrymen, in the time of Hastings, in the town of Calcutta. The Mission continued its labors till about the

year 1790, when the supply of Missionaries from Europe failed. It was succeeded by the present Mission at Serampore in 1793.

The Calcutta mission was of extensive use in disseminating Christian principles through Northern India. They sent Arabic New Testaments to the court of Shah Allum, the Mahomedan King of Hindostan, then resident at Allahabad. The priests of his Majesty returned their thanks to the Missionaries, and requested that "the supply might be continued." It was continued for a time, and an investment of Arabic Bibles is soon expected, under the sanction of the Honourable Company, for a similar purpose. Little of the influence of Christianity in India has come, as yet, to the knowledge of the public. Englishmen in general know as little of the state of Christianity in India, as of the state of Hinduism. Two christian Missions were at the same period tolerated by Shah Allum; one of which had existed since the time of Akbar the Great, and both of which exist unto this day.

At Seringapatam, under Hyder Sultaun the Mahomedan Prince of Mysore, the most complete toleration was permitted. In the Appendix to the enclosed pamphlet, your Lordship will see with what ardour the preaching of Swartz was received at Seringapatam, and how the noble Mahomedans and Hindoos desired to learn from him what was the "right prayer." Romish Missions were tolerated by Hyder at the same time. Tippoo Sultaun was more intolerant than his father. He was at times a persecutor; yet he did not quench Christianity;

and Missions now flourish in various parts of the Mysore country.

After these authorities, we certainly shall not refer to the Mahomedan Moonshees in Calcutta, for their opinion on the general relations of religious toleration in India.

I do not know whether your Lordship has been informed, that there are two Roman Catholic Missions in Bengal and the provinces adjacent. They have existed for a long period of time, and have been tolerated by the Mahomedan, Hindoo, Seik, Nepaul, and Tibet Governments. They have preached and published what they pleased, without any official restriction that we have ever heard of; and they now continue to follow their functions under the protection of the English Government, while the Protestant Missionaries are restrained and their theology is subjected to an official license.

The proceedings against the Protestant Mission will naturally be supposed at home to have been called forth by some public commotion in Bengal, or by the bad moral character of the Missionaries. As to the first, they will be happy to hear, that we are now, and long have been, in a state of almost torpid tranquillity; and as to the character of the Missionaries, the Government has acknowledged them to be men of quiet demeanour, of pious intentions, and as deserving countenance and respect for their literary labours.

It has been the usual conduct of Asiatic Governments to let Christianity alone. In the annals of the British Administration In India, there has been no instance of the suppression

of a Christian Mission. Our empire here subsists by the discrepancy of religious opinion. It is not good policy to strengthen the Hindoo Religion, or to strengthen the Mahomedan Religion; but it is good policy to strengthen the Christian Religion, because it is as yet the weakest. It is certainly our duty not to oppose it; for "if this council be of God, we cannot resist it." And it would now be as easy to oppose the rushing of the BORE into the river Ganges, as to oppose the entrance of Christianity into the province of Bengal.*

9. After the perusal of the foregoing pages, your Lordship will be prepared to understand the cause of the late alarm regarding the Prophecies; not a public alarm indeed, but the alarm of some of the officers of your Lordship's government.

Having had occasion lately to preach a series of discourses on the Christian Prophecies, in the presidency Church, some of the congregation expressed a wish that I would permit them to be printed, observing, that they had before made a similar request without effect; but as I was now about to return to Europe, they hoped I would bequeath to them these few discourses.

When it was understood by the officers of Government, that the sermons on the prophe-

* The BORE is the rapid influx of the tide of the ocean into the Ganges. That river is wide at the mouth; but suddenly narrowing, the accumulated waters seek their level, and run forward in a continued billow, with a mighty rushing noise, a hundred miles up the country.

cies were to be published, they were alarmed: —your Lordship will scarcely divine the cause —it was this:—It seems these prophecies declare, "that all nations shall be converted to the religion of Christ." But if this be true, it was argued, What bad news to the Mahomedans and the Hindoos! In short, the advertisement announcing the intended publication of the Prophecies, which was sent to the Government Gazette, was suppressed; the advertisement itself was delivered in with trepidation to Government, and an order was immediately issued to the printers of the other papers, forbidding them to publish the alarming notice. In consequence of this order, it has been publicly understood that the Christian Prophecies are suppressed by authority!

I now beg leave to submit it to your Lordship's judgment, whether, in the view of the temper of mind displayed above, it would be proper in me to subject my compositions to the opinion and revision of the officers of your Lordship's government. Might there not be some danger in committing the Christian Prophecies to be altered and new modelled by men who favour the disciples of Mahomet and Brahma? I incline not to commit them to the hands of those officers, from another consideration: it would be a bad precedent. I would not that it should be thought, that any where in the British dominions, there exist any thing like a civil inquisition into matters purely religious.

It is now nearly two months since I received the letter from Government on this matter, and I have not yet communicated my intentions.

I now beg leave to inform your Lordship, that I do not wish to give government any unnecessary offence. I shall not publish the Prophecies.

At the same time I beg leave most respectfully to assure your Lordship, that, I am not in any way disappointed by the interference of Government on this occasion. The supposed suppression of the Christian Prophecies has produced the consequence that might be expected. The public curiosity has been greatly excited to see these Prophecies; and to draw the attention of men to the Divine Predictions, could be the only object I had in view in noticing them in the course of my public ministry. Another consequence will probably be; the Prophecies will be translated into the languages of the East, and thus pave the way, as has sometimes happened, for their own fulfilment.

10. Your Lordship will be enabled better to understand the real nature of this alarm regarding the Prophecies, when you are informed of the alarm which was excited about half a year before your Lordship's arrival, by the ancient "Christian Tablets."

In consequence of the inquiries, sanctioned by the Marquis Wellesley, into the history and literature of the Syrian Christians of Travancore, some ancient Manuscripts were announced, and also certain "Brass Tablets" of great antiquity, containing the privileges of these ancient Christians, asserting their rights of nobility, and declaring withal that they had a King. Your Lordship can hardly conceive the apprehensions which were excited by this dis-

covery, in the minds of those who have been lately alarmed by the Prophecies. Even at the first it was accounted an ominous mission to go "to rake up the ashes of Christianity" in the very midst of the Hindoos. But when it was announced that there were "glowing embers," nothing less seemed to be expected than that all Hindostan would shortly be "in a flame." For if it was true that Christianity once flourished in Hindostan, it followed that it might flourish again. It was devoutly wished "that these Christian Tablets might sink to the bottom of the sea," and even the curiosity of the Hindoo Antiquaries was quenched in this horror of Christianity.*

That your Lordship may be assured that this alarm was real, and not fictitious, it is only necessary to add, that when the article of literary intelligence published in the Bombay Gazette, containing the account of these ancient Christians,† and of these "brass plates" (which account was certainly interesting to the Christian world in general, and to men of letters in particular,) arrived at Calcutta, it was suppressed, by authority, as something dangerous to the State; and the Bishop of Landaff's let-

* These brass tablets are now deposited in the public library of the University of Cambridge.

† It had been previously published in the Bombay Gazette, by which means it had reached Europe. It was published afterwards in England by the late Bishop of London.

ter on the Civilization of India* had nearly shared the same fate.

11. It appearing from the recent events above noticed, that the diffusion of Christianity in Bengal is plainly obnoxious to some of the officers of Government, serious apprehensions are now entertained, that the attempt to suppress the translation of the Scriptures will be renewed. I cannot believe that the attempt will be made during your Lordship's administration. If, however, any sinister event should afford a pretext for reviving it, I humbly request that the Chinese Translation of the Scriptures may be spared. Suffer me, my Lord, to intercede for the Chinese. There are three English youths, who have been for two years past under the tuition of the Chinese Professor and his two Chinese Assistants, and they have now acquired a very considerable proficiency in the Chinese Language; and it is my intention to call them to England for public purposes, in three years hence, if their studies be not interrupted. This Class has been organized and maintained at a great expense. It is the only regular Chinese Class in the world, out of the limits of the Chinese Empire; and it will probably be the source of the first regular instruction in the Chinese Language in Great Britain.†

* See Christian Researches, at conclusion.

† The expense was upwards of 1300 pounds. The Chinese Professor, Mr. Lassar, was originally engaged to superintend the Class at Serampore, by Dr. Buchanan, and was maintained at his sole expense for about three years, at 300 rupees per month. The

12. If your Lordship should judge it expedient to investigate any of the facts contained in this letter, I shall be happy to afford any further evidence or explanation that may be required, before I leave India.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord,
With the highest respect, your Lordship's
Most obedient and humble Servant,
C. BUCHANON.

Calcutta,
7th Nov. 1807.

condition on which Dr. Buchanan engaged to maintain him at the Mission-House, was, That one of the elder Missionaries, and three at least of the youths, should engage in the diligent study of the Chinese Language. Mr. Marshman was the elder Missionary who excepted the condition. Hearing that the Hon. the Court of Directors were about to organize the College at Hertford, Dr. Buchanan contemplated, at that time, the probability of Mr. Lassar's pupils being by and by qualified to hold a situation as Instructors of Chinese in that institution. They are now qualified for that office; and it seems to be the interest of the East-India Company to appropriate the special advantage. A knowledge of the Chinese Language is confessed to be of the utmost importance to their civil servants who have to negociate with the Chinese people; and yet it is not cultivated either at the College of Fort William in Bengal, or at the College of Hertford in England. This important language, hitherto deemed inaccessible to the Universities of Europe, was planted, and has been brought to maturity, as it were, by the way-side.

REMARKS

ON THE

LETTER FROM THE BENGAL GOVERNMENT

TO THE

*Hon. the Court of Directors, dated Dec. 7, 1807, in reply to the foregoing Memorial.**

THE Earl of Minto must be well assured by this time, that I highly respect the character of his administration; for his public acts demonstrate, that he is by no means indifferent to the promotion of learning in the East, or to the diffusion of Christian Knowledge amongst the inhabitants of India. At the time I submitted to his Lordship the preceding Memorial concerning the injuries inflicted on Christianity in Bengal, I wished him to understand that I exonerated him entirely from blame, since he had but lately arrived, and could not possibly be fully acquainted with all the circumstances to which the Address referred. And his Lordship will do me the justice to recollect that I did not transmit that letter "on the public service," or to the Governor-general "in Council;" but merely for his private information, if he should think proper so to consider it. His fashioning my address

* See Appendix, No. I.

into a public proceeding was entirely gratuitous. I offered to explain; but he declined an interview, and chose to send the memorial to England, accompanied by official animadversion.—The truth was, he naturally received his first impressions from the public functionaries who filled official situations near his person; and with that urbanity and heroism which are natural to him, he said, "I will defend my new government." The radical error of his Lordship's incipient administration (not indeed imputable to himself) was, that in concerting measures respecting "Religion and Christian Missions," he did not call to his councils the official adviser of Government on such subjects; namely, the Senior Chaplain of the Honourable Company, the Rev. David Brown, who had enjoyed the confidence of every Governor-General for nearly twenty years before, and who could have given him, in a few minutes, just views of character and of existing circumstances. But some of the persons about his Lordship had no desire to direct his attention at that crisis to such a counsellor as Mr. Brown; for he was too sincere a friend of Christianity.* His Lordship's good sense, however, seems, soon to have triumphed over this difficulty; and to have enabled him to appreciate justly Mr. Brown's counsel and communications. The public has heard how laudably Lord Minto has exercised himself in promoting useful learning, by giving his patronage

* I would always exempt from the imputations connected with this subject, Niel Benjamin Edmonstone, Esq. Vice President of the Calcutta Bible Society.

to the College of Fort William, to the Chinese Class at Serampore, and to the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society. In Mr. Brown's communication to me last year, respecting the establishment of the Bible Society, he distinctly mentions his Lordship's change of sentiment on some points.—"Pagoda, (Serampore,) 5th March, 1811,—I have had long and full discussions with Lord Minto on all subjects of religion, missions, and Scriptures; and he is very desirous to tread back his steps, and to atone for the mistake which he made at the beginning of his government. Your memorial prepared the way for this reflux of sentiment. Neither that, nor the Chinese, nor any part of your labours, have fallen to the ground." Lord Minto will best know whether this extract possesses the features of truth. Nothing could have justified my printing it but the necessity which existed, that the truth should be fully understood on a subject affecting the interests of Christianity, and the character of its legitimate teachers in India. It is believed in Bengal, that the attack on the Missionaries did not originate with Lord Minto.—On the contrary, it was supposed that his presence tempered its violence, and assuaged the storm.

2. I shall do myself the honour to remark on the Letter itself. The Memorial presented by me adverted to certain public acts which I considered to be dishonourable and injurious to Christianity. I specified the four following:

First. "The withdrawing of the patronage of Government from the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the Oriental Tongues."

Second. "Attempting to suppress the translation of the scriptures entirely."

Third. "Suppressing the encomium of the Honourable the Court of Directors on their venerable Missionary the Rev. Mr. Swartz;" and

Fourth. "Restraining the Protestant Missionaries in Bengal from the exercise of their functions, and establishing an Imprimatur for Theological works."

To the first of these charges, the Bengal Government have made no reply; and yet it was the most important. The withdrawing of the patronage of Government from the translation of the Scriptures, which had commenced so auspiciously in the college of Fort William, was an act which involved in it most sensibly the honour of a Christian Administration. But there is not one word offered in justification. Indeed, it was impossible to justify it.*

To the second charge, "Attempting to sup-

* It is to be hoped that, at this era of Christian investigation, the East-India company will vindicate the honour of the nation, and of their own government in India, by directing that the College of Fort William shall patronise, as it formerly did, translations of the Scriptures in the various languages of the East; and particularly, that the *insular* languages, cultivated by their Professor, the late Dr. Leyden, (into each of which he has translated the Gospel of St. Matthew), may not be permitted again to sink into oblivion for want of encouragement. The College of Fort William expends a monthly sum at this time, under sanction of the Court of Directors, for translations from the Mythology of Brahma (witness the fabulous Ramayuna, &c) but nothing is given, that we have heard of, for the honour of Christ.

press the translation of the Scriptures entirely" out of the college, as well as in it, no reply is made. Nor shall I add further explanation.

To the third charge, "Suppressing the official encomium on the venerable Swartz," there is no reply. There is not the most distant allusion to the subject.

On the fourth charge alone, copious observations have been made. And on these I propose to animadvert.

Of the collateral subjects, the alarm concerning "The Brass Plates," and the exclusion from the Government Gazette and other papers of the "literary intelligence" concerning the Syrian Christians in Travancore, no notice has been taken.*

* When Dr. Leyden, Lord Minto's admired literary friend, who possessed a spirit which was keenly susceptible, heard of the Government's suppressing the "literary intelligence," relating to that very quarter of India, through part of which he himself had travelled, and concerning which he had furnished me with various topics of investigation, I leave his Lordship to conceive the fluent speech and bodily agitation of the scholar, on the view of the "Gothic proceeding."

The public in England have been much gratified by the perusal of the Earl of Minto's beautiful eulogium on the character of Dr. Leyden, at the last public disputation at the College of Fort William. Dr. Leyden's talents for philological research were indeed beyond all praise; but he consecrated his last years by a study of a higher kind than that of philology: "He was translating the Holy Scriptures into five different languages." We should have been happy to have seen, that this fittest subject for the highest panegyric had not been wholly omitted in a discourse addresssed to the Students of the College of Fort William.

3. Before I proceed further, I shall make two preliminary remarks.

Of the accuracy of the facts stated in the Memorial, I think there can be little doubt. I challenged inquiry before I left Calcutta; but the Government did not think it necessary to investigate them. They wrote their Letter to the Court of Directors while I was yet on the spot, without communicating their sentiments to me in any manner, although I was on terms of personal civility with every member of the administration; and they sent the letter home without my knowledge by the fleet which conveyed myself. Nor did I ever see it until it was recently printed by order of the Honourable the House of Commons.

The second remark I would make refers to the charge of "disrespect" which is preferred against me, in the Letter alluded to, for addressing Government at all on the subject; and to which they frequently revert with lively sensibility. I am not at all anxious about self-justification in this matter, except as the honour of religion may be concerned: and I hope little personal feeling will be visible in these Remarks. But in regard to the charge in question, I only request that the Bengal Government will look back to the transaction, and survey the *nature* of the subject and the circumstances in which I stood. Let them say whether I had any personal interest in the cause at issue. Did I address Government for my own advantage? Was it to recommend myself to the favour of the Court of Directors when I returned home? No. It was not my own cause, but that of Re-

vealed Religion, which I maintained. Christianity had been dishonoured. Its teachers were oppressed and silenced; and there was nobody to appear for the truth. I stood, for a moment, the Representative of "Him who is higher than the highest." And is this to be denominated disrespect; especially when the words of my Address are perfectly respectful? I think that, in the judgment of candour and of enlightened minds, it will be thought that I barely did my duty. The public voice in the settlement of Calcutta was certainly in my favour; for the proceedings against the missionaries were very generally condemned.

4. The justification of the acts of Government specified in the eighth paragraph of my Memorial, is founded on these two assumptions, viz.

1. That the "proceedings of the Missionaries were of a character entirely new," and that their publications and preaching rendered the interference of Government necessary.

2. That the Supreme Government was by no means hostile to the introduction of Christianity into India.

Let us review the first of these assumptions. —We shall describe "the origin" of the proceedings against the Missionaries in the words of the official despatch to the Court of Directors.

"The pamphlet in question was delivered to the Secretary in the Secret, Political, and Foreign Department by the Professor of Arabic and Persian in the College of Fort William, who received it from the chief native Preceptor in that

department," (that is, the chief Arabic Moonshee, a Mahomedan;) "who stated that it was put into his hands, by the son of a Mogul merchant (a Mahomedan) residing at Calcutta, with a request that he would prepare an answer to it, with a view to vindicate the credit of their common religion."* It is not alledged that the Moonshee complained of the contents of the paper in any manner. No statement to that effect is contained in the whole despatch.

This pamphlet, it seems, declared that Mahomet was a tyrant and an impostor; and moreover, that the Christian Religion was the true one. On which the Government resolved, "That the public faith had been pledged to leave the inhabitants of these dominions in the full, free, and undisturbed exercise of their respective religions;" and that the Missionaries ought to be restrained. They accordingly interdicted the Missionaries from preaching or publishing; that is, they suppressed the Mission. But after they had so done, they discovered, to their great astonishment, that pamphlets of a similar nature had been "published five years before," and that public preaching had been practised during the same period in Calcutta by the same Missionaries. Dr. Carey declared officially: "Although pamphlets have been in circulation for several years, no one instance has come to my knowledge of the least symptom of alarm having been excited, whether among Hindoos or Mussulmans, in consequence of such circulation." At this period, Lord Minto must have looked gravely at his counsellors. The Gov-

East India Papers, No. 142 p. 41.

ernment discovered further, that pamphlets of a like character had been published all over the south of India, for three centuries before; and that, in short, there was no way of saying that Christianity is true, without insinuating that Mahomedanism is false.

But let us investigate the "first movement" in this affair. The pamphlet fell into the hands of a Mahomedan merchant in Calcutta, who carried it to a Mahomedan Moonshee in the College, "with a request that he would prepare an answer to it, with a view to vindicate the credit of their common religion." Thus far was well. The Moonshee shews it to his English Master, the Arabic Professor; whether, as an object of curiosity, or in a sullen mood, is not stated.—The Arabic Professor seizes the paper, and presents it to the Government. Now, if that gentleman had not charged himself with this official act, we should probably have never heard a word on the subject. When the Moonshee had shewed the pamphlet to him, he ought to have acted like a Christian Professor, and said, "Do as the son of the Mogul merchant bids you: go and prepare an answer to it with a view to vindicate your common religion." Had he done so, the Moonshee would probably have answered: "It is hard work," and have gone to smoke his Hooka.—Again, supposing (for argument's sake) that the Moonshee complained that Mahomet was vilified, the Professor had only to reply: "Brahmins, Boodhists and Seiks vilify Mahomet every day in words and in writing. But is it for you, Mahomedans, to speak of the indecorum of vilifying the religion of others, whose books are

filled with it? What volume, in the theological part of Tippoo's Library in the College of Fort William (if it refers to Christianity at all) does not contain the most unqualified abuse of the Christian Religion, and of its professors?"—I hope that the gentleman, whoever he was, who made himself active on the above occasion, has, by this time, made some atonemement to the Christian cause, and enrolled himself a member of the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society.

6. In the Letter of the Bengal Government, they relate a transaction which took place under the administration of Marquis Wellesley, in vindication of their interfering with the Missionaries. But I allege that the case is of no value in regard to the purpose for which it is quoted. I was Vice Provost of the College at the time, and must have been fully acquainted with the particulars of the transaction. As I hear it has been triumphantly mentioned by the adversaries of Missions, a brief elucidation of its merits may not be unacceptable.

In the year 1804, the following Thesis was proposed, among others, for discussion by the Students, at the annual disputations held in the College of Fort William, viz. "The advantage which the natives of this country might derive from translations, in the vernacular tongues, of the books containing the principles of their respective religions, and those of the Christian "faith."—Among the persons connected with the Government and with the College about that time, there were some who, in consequence of long habits of intercourse with the natives, had acquired a greater tenderness for the reli-

gious feelings of a Mahomedan or Hindoo, than for those of a Christian. And this they defended (some of them singularly amiable men,) without renouncing the character of Christian themselves, on the ground of condescension to the prejudices of the "weaker brethren." These gentlemen had, of course, been hostile from the beginning, to the translation of the Scriptures in the Oriental Languages, which was proceeding in the College by Natives and Europeans. So great was their jealousy on this subject, that there existed a kind of compromise between us, that if the Bible was printed for Christians, the Koran should be printed for Mahomedans; *which was actually done.* They further objected to the discusssion of subjects at the annual disputations in the Oriental Tongues, in which the inferiority of Mahomedanism might be inferred by implication. When, therefore, the above Thesis was proposed, which seemed merely to place the Christian and Mahomedan Religions on an equality, they represented to me, as Vice Provost, that the subject might give offence. I observed, that certainly there was no ground of offence on the part of the natives; that, on the contrary, I considered the Thesis myself as being rather discreditable to Christianity; and that I would gladly order it to be changed for another, if it were not that the young men had now prepared their disputations on the subject. It is proper to observe that the subject was not proposed by me. By a rule of the College, the selection of the Thesis is given to the student, called the Respondent, who is to defend it; and it must be afterwards approved by the College

Council. I heard no more of the matter till after some days, when I was informed that the Mahomedan Moonshees and others had signed a paper in the way of memorial to Lord Wellesley, requesting that their religion might not be invaded. The fact was, they were urged and assisted so to do by their Christian Patrons; the Monshees being in general as subservient to the will of their English Professor as servants are to a master. Nay, some of the English acknowledged that they "encouraged it as a very proper measure." And it was proved that many of the Moonshees who signed the paper knew not what the Thesis contained.—The petition having been presented to Lord Wellesley, he first told them that there was no harm in the Thesis, and then desired it to be changed; which was done. And this was the precedent which some years afterwards was to vindicate the suppression of the Christian mission.

7. A new doctrine was introduced about the time the Missionaries were assailed, viz. That to propagate Christianity was necessarily to vilify (by inference) the religions of the country. And with this was connected the following proposition, which every where pervades the letter on which I am remarking; namely, "That the public faith had been repeatedly pledged, under the express injunctions of the Legislature, to leave the subjects of the Company in the full, free, and undisturbed exercise of their respective religions:"—Just as if the most solemn engagements of the Legislature in Great Britain should ever be supposed *to preclude religious discussions*; or to forbid Christians to think and to

say, That Juggernaut was a log of wood, or that Mahomet was an impostor.

The Missionaries state, in their Memorial, that the Marquis Wellesley ordered the Psalms of David, and the Prophecy of Isaiah, to be translated into the Bangalee Language, as a Class-book for the Students. In consequence of this order, the Hindoo Moonshees would be obliged to instruct their pupils how to read such passages as these: "All nations which thou hast made shall come and worship before thee, O Lord."—"The Heathen shall cast their idols to the moles and to the bats." But his Lordship was not aware that he was infringing, by that order, the most solemn injunctions of the British Legislature.

In regard to "religious discussion," Dr. Carey represented to the government, when they were about to suppress his functions, a fact which every body conversant with the inhabitants well knew; namely, "That the natives of Bengal, divided into numerous sects, indulge in literary and religious discussion to an almost *unbounded degree*;—and that the Missionaries "found, in numerous instances, that discussion has been desired and approved by the multitude, even when it has ended to the disadvantage of their spiritual guides."

It was amusing, about this time, to see the Missionaries presenting to the Bengal Government, with great simplicity, (in reply to the argument of the "pledged faith,") an extract from the Charter to the Company by William III. in which it is stipulated, "That the ministers of the Honourable Company are to learn the Hin-

doo languages, to enable them to instruct the Gentoos, &c. in the Christian Religion."

8. The Bengal Government, in order to shew that it must be difficult to have religious discussions with a Mahomedan, quote a passage from a book of my own: "A Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India," published in 1805; and they seem to quote it as containing a truth justly expressed; "Whenever the Mahomedan feels his religion touched, he grasps his dagger." This is certainly a true characteristic of that people, in general; and yet we know that many a Mahomedan has been subdued by the persuasive power of the Gospel, and that the ferocious tiger has been changed into a lamb. It is, doubtless, the principle of the Mahomedan in every part of the world, in England as well as India, to draw the dagger when his religion is assailed; for the religion that was propagated by the sword can only be defended by the sword: but where Mahomedans are servants and not masters, they have not, or at least ought not to have, daggers to draw.

In such circumstances (while they are our subjects,) what ought then to be our conduct towards them? What do Christian duty and a wise policy require on our part? This was the question I was endeavouring to answer. It is the fate of the English in India to exist among this dagger-drawing people. How may we be able to exist among them for an age to come with confidence and security? I attempted to shew, that our only hope of attaining to this security must be derived from *gradually humanizing*

their vindictive spirit by Christian instruction. I recommended that the Government should allow "Christian Schools to be established for the children;" and that, in respect to the adults, instead of "nursing their faith with tenderness" (as the manner of some was, and on which I had just animadverted;) and instead of "reverencing the religion of Mahomedans" by which reverence it was well known their contemptuous spirit was CHERISHED and FOMENTED; we should endeavour to repress and restrain their contemptuous spirit (or, as I less properly expressed it in the first edition, "to coerce their contemptuous spirit") by every proper means, and particularly by maintaining a distant demeanour, and treating them after the manner adopted by Marquis Wellesley and Marquis Cornwallis, who, as I afterwards observe, "never admitted a native to their confidence or counsel."

And such are the means I would yet recommend. But some persons have said, that they understand the passage as if I intended we ought to convert the Mahomedans "by force."* But if such was my meaning, why did not the Bengal Government quote the passage on this most fit occasion, and demolish at one blow, the cause of Christian Conversion in India, which I was defending? The reason is very obvious: it was because they knew I meant no such thing. On the contrary, they knew that the passage contained a just sentiment and most wholesome advice. I had just before complained of Christians do-

* As for the Hindoos, they could not have been included, for they never shewed 'a contemptuous spirit.'

ing obeisance to the faith of Mahomet. "As matters now stand, the follower of Mahomet, imagines that we consider it a point of honour to reverence his faith, and to despise our own. For he every day meets with Europeans, who would more readily speak with disrespect of their own religion than of his. No where is the bigotry of this intolerant faith nurtured with more tenderness than in British India. While it is suffering concussion in every other part of the world, even, to Mecca its centre (as by a concurring Providence toward its final abolition,) *here* it is fostered in the peaceful lap of Christian liberality." And then I signified, that, instead of cherishing this spirit, a wise policy required that we should repress it. The means by which we might so repress it I had just before pointed out. "Is it then good policy to cherish a vindictive religion in the bosom of the empire for ever? Would it not accord with the dictates of the soundest wisdom, to allow Christian Schools to be established, where the children of poor Mahomedans might learn another temper; *the good effects of which would be felt before one generation pass away?* The adult Hindoo will hardly depart from his idol, or the Mahomedan from his prophet in his old age; but his children, when left destitute, may be brought up Christians, if the British Parliament please."

That is the kind of force I would recommend, and which I explained; namely, the persuasive force of Christian Instruction, exerted on infant and juvenile minds. It is somewhat remarkable, that when three volumes which I have pub-

lished concerning the East, recommend, in almost every page, the appointed and legitimate means of conversion, viz. "Preaching and the Word of God," there should be any person who would contend, that a single line of dubious import must necessarily contradict all the rest.—When men of adverse sentiments fasten on a single word in a book, it is a sure sign that they are overwhelmed by its arguments, awed by its truth, and encumbered with an expiring cause.*

9. We now come to the consideration of the obnoxious pamphlets.—The Bengal Government have transmitted three to England, which they mark A. B. and C. and which they designate to be "the most material," that is, the most exceptionable, of them all. Of these the only reprehensible Tract, in my judgment, is C. the "Rise of Wisdom." It is a small poem of six pages, and was composed by a Bengalee Poet. The Bengal Government observe upon it, that "it was excluded from general perusal, by the abstruseness of *metrical* composition." It is merely a satire on the Brahmins, and was

* I was not a little surprised to hear that an Honorable Member had stated seriously, in the House of Commons, that I had recommended that the natives of India should be converted by force. I only can account for this by supposing that some person had *told* him it was so; and that he had never read a word which I had written on the subject. I could hardly propose that 30,000 men should draw the sword on fifty millions, and impose a faith! And yet this is what the insinuation means, if it means any thing.—But again, supposing that I had made such a proposal, would this have been the way to recommend my objects, concerning India, to the British nation?

a very unworthy instrument to be used in Christian Conversion;—and such the Missionaries themselves acknowledged it to be.—The Tract marked A. is entitled "The Distinction," or difference between the characters of Chrishna and Christ. It is entirely unexceptionable in sentiment and language.—The Tract marked B. is that beautiful little piece, submitted with the rest to the Imperial Parliament, entitled "The Forerunner of the Bible." Though tortured in the translation, it contains some striking and eloquent passages.* I have read every word of this piece, and hesitate not to declare, that on the same principle that a tribunal could condemn the "Forerunner of the Bible," they might have condemned the Sermons of Archbishop TILLOTSON. On the same principle that they condemned the "Forerunner of the Bible," they might have condemned the Lord's Prayer:—"Hallowed be THY name!" "No," says the Brahmin: "let the name of Brahma be hallowed:"—"THY kingdom come!"—"No," says, the Mahomedan, "let Mahomet's, not Christ's, kingdom come."—But that the public may have competent means of forming a judgment on the subject, a copy of the Tract is subjoined for their perusal.—See Appendix, No. VI.†

* Of these the following is one:—Referring to the mystery of 'God having become man,' with allusion to the Hindoo incarnations: 'There was an incarnation of JESUS, the Protector of the unprotected, full of the splendour of God, having been separated from his body in a column of splendour before him'

† When the 'Forerunner of the Bible' came before

10. Another subject of inquiry is, whether there was any commotion in Bengal, in consequence of the preaching of the Missionaries, to warrant the proceedings against them. The Government do not alledge that there was any commotion. They hint indeed, that there was "an incipient irritation in the minds of the native public;" but they evidently make no account of this surmise; otherwise it would have appeared in a more imposing form. It was asserted, at the time, that the people were, "in a state of almost torpid tranquillity." When the Missionaries preached in their chapel in Cal-

the Court of Directors, they seem to have been at some loss what to say on it. As it had come so far, charged with crime, they thought of course that it must contain something wrong: but yet they had doubts. In justice to the Honourable Court, their sensations of difficulty will be stated in their own words. 'Perhaps,' say they, in answer to the Bengal Government, 'some doubt might be fairly entertained whether a considerable part of the paper marked B. was of a nature to have excited similar feelings (that is, to have alarmed the religious prejudices of the natives) if the other publications did not prepare the mind to receive with some jealousy any works which issued from the same press. In suggesting the possibility of this doubt, we by no means intend to convey any disapprobation of that prudent precaution which led you to prevent the further publication of this last (the paper B.) together with those which appear to us to be more unquestionably exceptionable. It is a matter of great difficulty to draw the line which should at once describe and characterize the publications which might be permitted to be considered as inoffensive; and at the same time, distinguish them from those which a proper precaution would suppress.'—*East-India Papers, No* 142, *p.* 72.

cutta, there were of course, always a few natives around the door; but, during the whole period of my residence in that city, I never heard of more than one instance of the natives insulting the preacher, in the manner in which Englishmen sometimes insult a Dissenting Chapel in England. But I have heard of dissolute Englishmen disturbing the Mission Chapel in Calcutta.

The parallel drawn by the Bengal Government, "between the Protestant Missionaries preaching to Hindoos, and Jews and Roman Catholics in England trying to convert Protestants," is curious. They seem to think that Jews and Roman Catholics dare not try to convert Protestants, "by preaching publicly and indiscriminately to his Majesty's protestant subjects," particularly if they use "opprobrious and offensive terms;" and that if they were to do so, the magistrate might "intervene, and silence" them. But I beg leave most respectfully to offer it as my opinion, that Jews and Roman Catholics may try to convert his Majesty's liege Protestant subjects, "publicly and indiscriminately," and in "opprobrious and offensive terms too," whenever they please;* and further, that if the magistrate were to seize their bodies for such offence, the news of the event would soon reach the East Indies.

11. If, then, there was no commotion among the people in Bengal, what was the cause of the proceedings against the Missionaries?

* As Peter Gandolphy the Catholic, and David Levi the Jew, well know.

The massacre of Vellore—the fatal massacre of Vellore. That event, which had taken place upwards of a year before, had filled the minds of the rulers of India (as it well might) with apprehensions for the safety of the English dominion. It was some time before Christianity was thought of as being a cause of that event; but as soon as the suspicion was presented to the mind, it was eagerly entertained, and speedily magnified (in some imaginations) to a certainty. This jealousy of Christianity was farther inflamed by communicatious from England —by heart-sickening criminatory communications. Those who were at the helm of affairs thought that something ought to be done; but what to do they knew not. The ship of the state was in danger, agitated by the waves; and like infatuated mariners in a storm, they resolved to throw out the compass and quadrant to lighten the vessel.

To prove the sensations of alarm concerning Christianity which the Bengal Government suffered about that period, it is only necessary to refer to their letter to the Court of Directors of Nov. 2, 1807, containing their proceedings respecting the Missionaries. In that despatch, they declare without qualification, "That the industrious propagation of a belief that the British Government entertained the design of converting its native subjects to Christianity, was rendered the *efficient instrument* of the massacre of Vellore." After the evidence which has been laid before the nation on this subject, I need make no comment on the foregoing proposition. But it may be proper, for the satisfaction of those

persons who are not fully acquainted with the facts, to adduce the evidence of a competent authority, from whose judgment there can hardly be any appeal on this subject; but whose testimony the Bengal Government had not an opportunity of seeing, when they wrote the above letter. I allude to the official declaration of General Hay M'Dowall, Commander in Chief of the Madras Army. In his letter to the Governor and Council of the Presidency of Fort St. George, dated Madras, Nov. 19, 1807, nearly a year and a half after the mutiny, he delivers it as the result of the whole evidence which had passed under his review, "that the rumours alluded to" (viz. that the British Government entertained the design of converting its native subjects to Christianity) "was by no means general, and except at Hydrabad it had made little or no impression." But, what is most remarkable, the Commander in Chief grounds on the circumstances of this mutiny a proposal to the Government to build CHRISTIAN CHURCHES. Alluding to the "indifference of Europeans which is manifested as to the adoration of the Supreme Being," and to the absurdity of supposing that the natives should apprehend any religious interference from "persons who apparently conduct themselves with so much apathy in respect to what concerns religious worship;" he observes, that this indifference, particularly in the army, is owning to the want of churches. He then adds: "I trust I shall be excused if I suggest the propriety of having convenient chapels, of moderate price constructed *in all situations* within the Company's territories, where Euro-

pean troops are likely to be quartered. Whatever may be urged to the contrary, I am convinced that such an improvement, independent of the obvious advantages, *would render the British character more respected by the natives*, and be attended by no evil consequences."—The whole letter of General M'Dowal, and the Resolutions of Government thereon, will be given for the satisfaction of the reader. [See Appendix, No. III.] But the observations of his predecessor, General Sir John Cradock, mark, in a yet more absolute manner, the *absence of Christianity* from the English troops in India. In an official communication to Government after the massacre of Vellore, he thus writes: "In no situation has so much toleration, and such an unlimited freedom of religious opinions and ceremonials, been displayed as under the British Government in India; and in no situation have so few measures been pursued by British subjects, for the conversion of the people to the religion which we profess. No Englishmen have hitherto been employed on this duty in the provinces of the Peninsula; and, from the almost total absence of religious establishments in the interior of the country, and from the habits of life prevalent among military men, it is a melancholy truth, that so unfrequent are the religious observances of officers doing duty with battalions, that the Sepoys have not, until very lately, *discovered the nature** of the religion professed by the English."—East India Papers, No. 195, p 5.

* Query: How, when, and where they discovered it?

12. The second assumption, on which the Bengal Government rest their justification, is, "That they were by no means hostile to the introduction of Christianity into India." I am satisfied that they are favourable to the diffusion of Christianity at this present time; but, in regard to their sentiments at a former period, any further observation is rendered quite unnecessary, after the disclosure that has been made by the publication of the Indian correspondence.

In their letter of the 2d Nov. 1807, before quoted, they suggest to the Honourable Court "*to discourage any accession* to the number of Missionaries actually employed, under the protection of the British Government in India, *in the work of conversion.*" This suggestion fully developes the feeling of that period. Those Missionaries who are now here we will restrain: you will be pleased to discourage any accession to the number; so Brahma will enjoy an eternal reign. The Honourable Court seem to have been a little distressed at the perusal of this suggestion:—they replied to it in the following terms:

"Having explained to you, as briefly as possible, the principles on which we wish you to act with regard to the Missionaries, it remains for us only to advert to your suggestion, 'that we should discourage any accession to the number of Missionaries actually employed, under the British Government in India, in the work of conversion.' You are, of course, aware that many of the *meritorious* individuals who have devoted themselves to those labours, were not

British subjects, or living under our authority, and that none of the Missionaries have proceeded to Bengal with our license."

13. It remains that we notice the reception which the Letter of the Bengal Government, in answer to my Memorial, met with in England; first, from the Court of Directors; and secondly, from the Board of Controul.

The Court of Directors made no observation upon it at all; being content to insert a single paragraph communicated to them by the Board of Controul.* But the reply which the Honourable Court made to the contemporaneous letter of the Bengal Government, detailing their proceedings concerning the Missionaries, must not

* The Honourable Court might have been reluctant to convey any special censure for my endeavors to promote religion in India, from the consideration that they had, on my first going to that country, recommended the interests of Christianity strongly to my attention. When I was appointed a Chaplain for Bengal, in 1796, I received a public charge from the Court of Directors on the occasion. I was desired to attend the Court in my clerical robes; and the Chairman, Sir Stephen Lushington, addressed me on the importance of my office, and on the duties imposed on a minister of religion in India. His speech, which was evidently composed with much care, occupied about a quarter of an hour or more in the delivery. The venerable Baronet observed, that French principles were sapping the foundations of Christianity and of social order; and he earnestly inculcated on me the duty of defending and promoting the principles of the Christian Religion, by every proper means. I was much affected by the solemnity of the occasion, and by the energy and feeling with which the address was delivered; and the subject of the charge itself made a

be passed over. The Honourable Court first praises the conduct of their Indian Government generally, and then proposes a different mode of proceeding for their governance in future.—"If," say they, "you had foreseen that the Missionaries would have shewn that entire and ready submissiveness to Government which their conduct has manifested, we think you would have doubted of the expediency of holding, under the circumstances you have described, A PUBLIC PROCEEDING upon their transactions.—And we would only suggest, that if, on any future occasion, any fresh precautionary measures should become indispensable, it would be desirable, in the first instance at least, to see whether a private communication from the Governor General might not effect all that is desired, with-

great impression on my mind, particularly when meditating on it afterwards, during my voyage. I trust that my whole life in India has been one continued act of obedience to that charge. If the public have received any useful information, or the cause of truth any support from my writings, it has been owing, in a great degree, to that admonitory address, delivered to me soon after my leaving College and entering on the ministerial office. I doubt not that some of the members of the Honourable Court have the circumstance in their recollection. I well remember a gentleman who was then, and is now, a Director, coming into the Waiting Room, after I had withdrawn from the Court, and telling me that the Directors had been congratulating their Chairman on his 'excellent sermon.' It will be satisfactory to the public to see that my endeavours to promote Christianity in India (in any degree that these may have been approved) originated in an especial manner with the East India Company itself.

out bringing into view the instrumentality of Government." "We rely on your discretion that you will abstain from all unnecessary or ostentatious interference with their proceedings." —The whole letter is highly creditable to the judgment of the Court of Directors of the East India Company. It is a model for official writing and temperate rebuke. But its highest praise is, with one exception, that it maintains just and dignified views concerning the extension of Christianity in India, both in relation to the well-being of the natives and to the security of the British Government.*

The Board of Controul penned a brief reply, containing the following sentence, written with great spirit and with good temper:—"We shall content ourselves at present with remarking, that Dr. Buchanan, as well as all other Ecclesiastics who promulgate the doctrines of Christianity in India, and who bestow such just and merited encomiums on the conduct of the Missionary Swartz, would do well to adopt it as the model of their own; and should always recollect that discretion and moderation, in their language and actions, are most consistent with the mild spirit of our religion, and are indispensably requisite for those who are employed in prosecuting the laborious work of conversion."

The Board of Controul probably did not intend it; but they may be assured that the Secretaries in Bengal, on the first view of the above conspicuous eulogium on Swartz, would instinctively say, "That is intended for us, because we

* See the Letter, No. II. Appendix.

suppressed, in the Calcutta Gazette, the encomium on Swartz transmitted by the Court of Directors."

As for myself, I regret that this salutary admonition, penned in 1808, should not have been conveyed to me sooner than last week, when it was printed by the Honourable the House of Commons. But it is good advice at all times. I have now only to say, that I shall ever be happy to suffer a little disparagement, if it tend to the exaltation of so excellent and exemplary a character as the Missionary alluded to. I will further add, that I hardly know a circumstance which could have given me greater pleasure, than to see the British Government and the East India Company combining together, in an official and solemn manner, to propose to English Ecclesiastics an imitation of the conduct and example of the apostolic Swartz.

Kirby Hall, Borobridge,
25th June, 1813.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Copy of a Letter from the Bengal Government to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated the 7th December, 1807. *(Extracted from the East India Papers, printed by order of the House of Commons, No.* 142, *pp.*—74—79.*)*

TO THE HON. THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF THE HON. THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

Honourable Sirs,

THE Governor General has judged it to be his duty to communicate to the Board, a Letter and Memorial addressed to his Lordship by the Reverend Mr. Buchanan, one of the Chaplains of this Presidency, in consequence of the measures adopted by this Government, relatively to the proceedings of the Society of Missionaries for the propagation of the Gospel, (the details of which we had the honour to report to your Honourable Committee in our despatch of the 2d ultimo.) That Memorial, containing animadversions on the measures to which we have adverted, introduced in a manner which we con-

sider to be personally disrespectful to the Governor General, as well as disrespectful to the Government, and ascribing to both, motives and principles of action, of a nature injurious to the character of the British Administration in India; we deem it proper to transmit to your Honourable Committee the enclosed copies of that Letter and Memorial, and at the same time to state such observations as the tenor of the latter appears to us to render necessary.

2. Of the acts which Mr. Buchanan has stated as the acts of the British Government in India, and the circumstances of which Mr. Buchanan has explained and censured, under the present Governor General's supposed ignorance of them, the principal are those which formed the subject of our despatch to your Honourable Committee of the 2d ultimo; and all are referred ostensibly to the prejudices and counsel of the officers of Government: and Mr. Buchanan has ascribed to the late and present Government the adoption of measures directed to the object of opposnig the progress of Christianity in India, on the foundation of opinions inculcated by its officers. The comments on the late measures of the present administration, contained in Mr. Buchanan's Memorial, are founded on the disrespectful and unauthorized presumption, that the Governor General, regardless of the first principle of his public duty, has blindly submitted to the guidance of the subordinate officers of Government, and adopted measures of the highest importance, without a previous consideraiton of their origin and tendency, and even without a previous knowledge of the nature of

them ; and your Honourable Committee will observe, that Mr. Buchannan has described to his Lordship, as points of information, acts and opinions sanctioned by his own official signature as Governor General in Council.

3. It cannot, however, escape observation, that the real design of the Memorial is to impute to the Government those principles of action which are ostensibly ascribed to its officers; and under any circumstances, it is incumbent on us to obviate a misconception of the motives and objects of the recent measures of this Government, which a perusal of the Memorial might occasion, if the errors of its statements should remain unexplained.

4. With this view it is not necessary to enter into a discussion of the accuracy of all the facts alledged by Mr. Buchanan. It will be sufficient to notice those leading points of the Memorial on which is founded the extraordinary imputation of a systematic design, and an actual attempt, on the part of the present Administration, to support the interests of the religions of this country, by preventing the diffusion of Christianity within the limits of the British dominions in India.

5. Mr. Buchanan has contrasted the encouragement afforded to the propagation of Christianity under former Governments, with a supposed opposition to it under the last and present Administrations. It will be found, however, that those proceedings of the Missionaries which have attracted the attention of this government, are of a character entirely new, or such at least as had not come under the observation of Gov-

ernment. We allude to the practice of public preaching in the native language at the seat of Government, and to the circulation of printed works in the same languages, on topics and in terms grossly offensive to the religious prejudices of our native subjects.

6. With respect to the practice of public preaching to the uncontroverted natives of this country on topics of this nature, we deem the prohibition of it to be consistent with the principles and practice of those countries in which the most liberal toleration is established for all religions, and consonant specifically with the principles and practice of the British Government and nation. In England, persons who profess the Roman Catholic faith may assemble and assist at the performance of the rights of their religion in their own chapels, without opposition or molestation from the Government. So may the Jews celebrate the rites of their religion in their own synagogues; but we do not conceive the Catholic or Jewish priests have ever claimed a right to preach publicly, not to their own flocks, but indiscriminately to his Majesty's Protestant subjects, discourses for the express purpose of converting that whole Protestant and Christian nation to the Catholic or Jewish religion; much less, publicly to revile and insult, in the most opprobrious and offensive terms, the tenets and ministers of the Church of England. If any indiscreet enthusiast of either of the persuasions above mentioned should hold a conduct so imprudent and so unjustifiable, and the magistrate should intervene and silence him, as he unquestionably would, we are

persuaded that so reasonable an interposition of the magistrate would neither fall within the real and odious principle of persecution, nor experience that unmerited reproach from the mouths of the rational and ingenuous members of the religion attempted to be propagated in that manner. The late prohibition of public preaching in the native languages at Calcutta, was given occasion to, and rendered indispensable, by practices similar to those which we have just described; and was called for, also, by some peculiarities in the present times too obvious to need explanation; as well as by some actual indications of solicitude and incipient irritation in the minds of the native public of this city, in consequence of those provocations.

7. Whether some regulations may not be devised, under which the celebration of public worship, and the decent performance of the Christian rights, may be allowed to native Christians, is an interesting point, to which we are neither indifferent nor inattentive. The indiscreet mode in which those duties were lately administered, coupled with other considerations of an occasional and we trust temporary nature, required in our judgment, for the moment, the immediate suspension of a practice which, in the form then given to it, threatened consequences prejudicial to the public repose, and not less adverse to the success of the pious purpose proposed by the Missionaries themselves.

8. In India, considerations of public safety are superadded, in a more than ordinary degree, to the obligation contracted by Government of protecting the rights and privileges of the sub-

ject; and we cannot doubt that the wisdom of every former administration in India would have suggested the necessity of prohibiting this practice, if known to prevail in the manner in which it recently prevailed in the seat of Government.

9. Mr. Buchanan, by the tenor of his Memorial, has permitted a conclusion to be drawn, that printed works, of the nature described in the 5th paragraph of this despatch, have been circulated under former governments without opposition or controul, and that the suppression of them is an innovation in principle, as well as in act, upon the practice of preceding administrations. The existing restrictions upon the press in India, however, have been in force during a long course of years; and it cannot be supposed that any former administration would have deemed it consistent with the public safety, or with the obligation of public faith, as pledged to the native subjects of the company, for the unmolested exercise of their religions, to permit the circulation of such inflammatory works as those which we have lately had occasion to bring under the notice of your Honourable Committee. In support of this opinion, we deem it proper to state the circumstances of a transaction which occurred during the administration of Marquis Wellesley, analogous to the proceedings of the present Government in suppressing the public discussion, either by preaching or by printed works, of topics offensive to the religions of our native subjects.

10. In the year 1804, the following subject of disputation in the College of Fort William, having been proposed, viz. " The advantage which

the natives of this country might derive from translations, in the vernacular tongues, of the books containing the principles of their respective religions, and those of the Christian faith;" the prepared discussion of which subject was reported to involve topics offensive to the religious prejudices of the class of Mahomedans; a number of the most respectable and learned of the Mussulman inhabitants of Calcutta addressed a memorial to the Governor General, Marquis Wellesley, remonstrating against this supposed infringement of the unequivocal toleration which they acknowledged with gratitude the government had till then afforded to the unmolested exercise of the religions of its subjects. In reply to this memorial, a declaration was addressed to the memorialists, in the name and by the authority of the Governor General; in which, after adverting, as a fundamental principle of the British Government, to the solicitude with which Government not only abstained from all interference in the religious concerns of its Mussulman and Hindoo subjects, and from any endeavour to disturb their faith or to impede that full and free exercise of their respective religions which they enjoyed under the Mussulman government, but even afforded additional facilities to them in the observance of all the rites, ceremonies, and duties of their respective persuasions; and after explaining to the memorialists the error of their apprehensions regarding the object and design of the disputation which had been proposed, and the real purpose of the disputations annually holden in the College of Fort William, and assuring the memorialists that the examination of

any question whatever connected with the interests of religion, and especially the degradation of the religions of this country and the propagation of the Christian faith were entirely foreign to the objects of the institution, the Governor General signified to the memorialists, that although, on perusing the proposed thesis, he perceived no principle of an objectionable tendency, yet that, with a view to prevent the possibility of any apprehension on the part of the natives of this country that it might be the intention of the British Government to depart from the system of unlimited toleration which it had hitherto uniformly observed, the moment that the Governor General was apprised of the subject of the proposed thesis, he issued orders positively prohibiting the disputation upon that thesis; and copies of this declaration were circulated to all the principal stations under this Presidency, and to the foreign Residencies, with a view to enable the officers and representatives of Government to counteract at those stations any eventual alarm of the nature of that which had been excited at the Presidency.

11. From this transaction may be inferred not only the effect which public discussions respecting the religions of the country are calculated to produce, but also the solicitude of that very administration to which Mr. Buchanan has especially appealed, as encouraging the propagation of the Christian faith in India, to suppress discussions such as those which we have deemed it our duty to prohibit.

12. The composition of works directed to the object of converting the natives to Christianity, so

naturally leads to discussions of that nature, that the evils resulting from the latter must necessarily be hazarded by an unrestrained toleration of the former; and our decision upon this new question has been regulated not by any innovation on former established principles, but by those maxims of prudence and precaution which the condition of the British establishment in this country requires, and the neglect of which would, in our decided judgment, not only expose to hazard the stability of the British dominion in India, but would impede the accomplishment of the very object which animates the pious labours of the Society of Christian Missionaries in the work of conversion.

13. These consequences must be hazarded in a peculiar degree by a suppossed connection between the efforts thus employed for the conversion of the natives, and the measures of the Government, which, on grounds already stated, have been rendered by the highest prescriptive authority, and by the uniform practice of the British Government in India, systematically distinct; and in our despatch to your Honourable Committee, of the 2d ultimo, we have explained the circumstances which, in the present condition of the British power in India, more than at any former period, would tend to establish in the minds of the natives a belief of that connection under the unlimited toleration of those proceedings on the part of the Missionaries which we have deemed it our duty to repress.

14. The expediency and necessity of protecting our native subjects in the undisturbed enjoyment of their religious opinions and usages,

and of carefully withholding the influence of Government for the support of the endeavours of Missionaries to convert the natives to Christianity; in other words, the real principles of action and maxims of precaution which have regulated the proceedings of this Government with respect to the Missionaries and to the productions of their press, have been recognized and inculcated in the most forcible and explicit terms, in the following extracts from the letter of the Honourable the Court of Directors to the Government of Fort St. George, dated the 29th of May, on the subject of the mutiny at Vellore.

"In the whole course of our administration of the Indian territories, it has been our known and declared principle to maintain a *perfect* toleration of the various religious systems which prevailed in it, to protect the followers of each in the *undisturbed* enjoyment of their respective *opinions* and usages, and neither to *interfere* with them ourselves, nor to *suffer them to be molested by others.*"

"When we afforded our countenance and sanction to Missionaries who have from time to time proceeded to India for the purpose of propagating the Christian Religion, it was far from being in our contemplation to add the influence of our authority to any attempts they might make; for on the contrary we were perfectly aware that the progress of real conversion would be slow and gradual, arising more from a conviction of the principles of our religion itself, and from the pious examples of its teachers, than from any undue influence, or from the exertions of authority, which are never to be resorted to in such cases.

15. Your Honourable Committee will be satisfied, by the tenor of our present despatch, and of our despatch of the 2d ultimo, that these are precisely the principles which have regulated our late proceedings with regard to the Missionaries; and that Mr. Buchanan, in ascribing to us a disposition hostile to Christianity, has assumed a latitude of censure equally disrespectful in its nature and unwarranted by facts.

16. With respect to the injurious position stated in Mr. Buchanan's Memorial, that under the proceedings sanctioned by this Government the tendency of publications directed to the object of converting the natives is submitted to the decision of a Mahomedan or a Hindoo, it is obvious to remark that Government itself is competent to judge of it through the medium of translation; that the intervention of a native is not necessary to enable us to obtain information regarding the contents of any publication in the Persian, Arabic, Hindostanee, or Bengalee languages; and that our late proceedings with regard to the works of which translations were enclosed in our despatch to your Honourable Committee of the 2d ultimo, was the result of our own judgment of the nature and tendency of those works.

17. The intimation contained in Mr. Buchanan's Memorial, that this Government has established a new and specific imprimatur with respect to works on theology, appears to us to require some observations relative to the nature and effect of the restrictions on the press, which since their original establishment have continued to operate without relaxation.

18. This intimation, although bearing reference to those publications of the press at Serampore which we have judged it necessary to prohibit or restrain, appears to be principally founded on the requisition noticed at the commencement of Mr. Buchanan's Memorial, on the subject of submitting certain Discourses on the Prophecies, which Mr. Buchanan proposed to publish, to the inspection of Government previously to their publication. It is proper therefore to explain the circumstances of that transaction.

19. The Superintendant of the Company's Press having received from Mr. Buchanan the draft of an advertisement, which announced the intended publication of Mr. Buchanan's Sermons preached in the Presidency Church, on the Prophecies, deemed it his duty to obtain the sanction of Government to the publication of those Sermons, and consequently to the insertion, in the Government Gazette, of the advertisement announcing their intended publication, and accordingly communicated the draft of the proposed advertisement to Government through the channel of its officers. Upon this reference, the Chief Secretary was directed to request, that Mr. Buchanan would send the manuscript for the inspection of Government, previously to its publication; and under this order, the publication of the advertisement also was of course suspended. This transaction is considered by Mr. Buchanan to amount to a suppression of the Sermons on the Prophecies, because a condition was attached to the publication of them, which Mr. Buchanan erroneously supposed to be the

revision of them by the officers of Government, a condition to which he could not conscientiously accede.

20. Mr. Buchanan however, must be supposed to object to the revision of those discourses by the Government itself, as the condition of their publication, because the charge of establishing an imprimatur on works of theology, if it does not refer to the revision of the Government, is founded, as far as relates to the discourses in question, on an erroneous construction of the Chief Secretary's requisition, which expressly declared that the manuscript was to be submitted to the inspection of Government.

21. Not having had an opportunity of perusing those discourses, we can form no judgment of the propriety of their publication. The printing an exposition of the sacred prophecies would certainly, as such, have met with no opposition from us; nor would the prophecy, most disrespectfully and improperly stated by Mr. Buchanan as a particular object of alarm to us, viz. the final conversion of all mankind to the Christian faith, have rendered the publication in our judgment objectionable. At the same time, if in commenting on that prophecy, Mr. Buchanan should have been found to have introduced into his discourses strictures on the religion of the Mahomedans and Hindoos, of the nature of those which, in the form of works published for the perusal of the natives of this country, we had deemed it our duty to suppress, or to have enlarged on the topic of the immediate and general conversion of our subjects in the East to Christianity, we should probably have judged the promulgation of such remarks from the pul-

pit of the Presidency and the press of Government, to be unseasonable and inexpedient, in the present conjuncture of affairs.

22. Of this nature only are the restrictions which we desire to impose on the publication of theological works in this country. Those restrictions obviously form a part of that general controul which, in the actual state of our dominion in India, it is indispensably necessary to impose on the productions of the press, for the security of the public interests and the preservation of the public tranquillity in this important branch of the British empire. Such restrictions have virtually existed during the whole period of the British supremacy in India: the occasion for the active exercise of them has only recently occurred.

23. Religious discussions, as being calculated in a peculiar degree to affect the public tranquillity, are the direct and proper objects of a general controul, which has been established over the productions of the press, for purposes of national interest and public security; and in India, more than in all other countries, the controul of religious publications is indispensable for the public safety.

24. This necessity cannot be exemplified in terms more just or more forcible than in the following extract from a work published by Mr. Buchanan in England, and entitled, "A Memoir on the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment in India."

"The Mahomedans profess a religion which has ever been characterized by political bigotry and intemperate zeal. In this country that re-

iigion still retains the character of its bloody origin, particularly among the higher classes. Whenever the Mahomedan feels his religion touched, he grasps his dagger. This spirit was seen in full operation under Tippoo's government, and it is not now extinguished."

25. The practical effect of this sanguinary spirit of bigotry, as exemplified in the mutiny of Vellore, and in the events which succeeded it, can hardly escape observation; for although Mr. Buchanan, on the ground of his personal communication with some of the natives on the coast, is of opinion that the insurrection at Vellore had no connection with the Christian religion directly or indirectly, immediately or remotely, we are compelled to form a different judgment, from the mass of authentic evidence and information on that unhappy event, recorded on the proceedings of Government; and we are satisfied that a persuasion (a most erroneous one indeed, but a firm and sincere persuasion) in the breasts of a great proportion of the Sepoys who were thus betrayed into the execution of the massacre of Vellore, and of those who subsequently manifested a spirit of insurrection, that a design existed on the part of the British Government to operate a general conversion of the inhabitants of India to Christianity, was one of the most efficient causes of that horrible disaster. Responsible therefore to our Sovereign, to our immediate superiors, and to our country, for the security and tranquillity of this empire, we should have neglected a primary obligation of our public duty, if at any period of time, but especially while such impres-

sions were recent, we had permitted the circulation within the British territories, of works reviling the religions of our subjects, and distinctly declaring a desire to convert them to the Christian faith. Under the influence of the same sentiments and circumstances also, we cannot but question the prudence of publishing, with the sanction of the supreme British authority in India, the approaching and instant conversion of the inhabitants of this country, to Christianity.

26. The imposition of a restraint, therefore, on the promulgation of writings of the above description, is but the application of a long authorized and existing controul over the conduct of the press, to the most important of the objects for which that controul was originally established; and consequently, as far as the public safety is concerned, works on theology, like works on other subjects, must be considered to be subject to a civil revision.

27. It is true, that no direct controul over the press of the Missionaries at Serampore, had been specifically declared to exist, or had ever been exercised by the British Government, because no abuse of that press had attracted notice. But under the peculiar circumstances of the settlement of Serampore, and of the press established in it, our right to controul the productions of the Missionary Press cannot be disputed.

28. The population of Serampore cannot afford employment to a press in any degree sufficient to support the charges attending it. The only purposes connected with the concerns of

the Danish Government, or of the inhabitants of Serampore, to which the press of the Missionaries was applied, were (as stated by the Governor of that settlement, in his letter of the 30th of September,) the publishing of regulations and advertisements of public and private sales. All works printed at that press were necessarily intended for circulation in the British territories, and were so circulated, and the pamphlets which attracted our notice were sent to this Presidency and its vicinity, for distribution among our native subjects.

29. The Missionaries themselves are all British subjects; Mr. Carey, the chief member of the Society, holds the situation of Professor of the Shanscrit and Bengalee languages in the College of Fort William, and the leading members occasionally reside at this Presidency. The Danish Government permitted, and motives of convenience induced, them to establish their press at Serampore. But the press is principally supported by the aid and encouragement afforded by the Asiatic Society and the College of Fort William. It is consequently, to all intents and purposes, a British Press; and its productions must necessarily be considered by the community at large, to issue under the patronage and sanction of the British Government. The same considerations, therefore, which require the exercise of an efficient controul over the presses established at this Presidency, are equally applicable to the press at Serampore. When its productions were found to be of a nature hazardous to the public tranquillity, it became the absolute duty of this Government to give ef-

fect to that controul; and adverting to the inconvenience, and in some degree the inefficiency, under which the controul of a press established in a foreign jurisdiction must be exercised, we deemed it adviseable to simplify and facilitate the execution of that system, by requiring that a press, the productions of which were to circulate exclusively in the British territories, should be transferred to those territories, and be brought fairly and ostensibly within the scope of that observation which was entitled to controul it. We therefore desired the Missionaries to remove their presses to Calcuttta; apprising the Danish Governor, at the same time, that we had deemed it necessary to signify that desire to the Missionaries, and stating to him the grounds of the measure.

30. The right of the British Government to exercise a controul over the press of Serampore, and for that purpose to require the transfer of it to the Presidency, was not contested by the Governor of Serampore; who, far from resisting the demand for its removal on the plea of the sovereignty of his nation, as erroneously asserted by Mr. Buchanan, merely solicited the revocation of that demand, on the ground of the distress to which the Missionaries would be exposed by our exacting a compliance with it; stating an additional inducement, in the convenience which the Government and inhabitants of Serampore experienced from the use of the press, in publishing regulations and advertisements of public and private sales.

31. We at the same time received from the

Missionaries the Memorial, of which a copy formed an enclosure in our despatch to your Honourable Committee of the 2d ultimo; wherein the Missionaries represented the peculiar circumstances of their property at Serampore, and explained the very serious and distressing consequences to the individuals composing the Mission, as well as to the body itself, and to a considerable number of families connected with them as servants and dependents, which would result from the removal of the press from Serampore. Being satisfied of the truth of these representations, and nothing being further from our views and disposition than to affect in the smallest degree either the interests of the missionary body or the personal comfort and convenience of those worthy individuals, we withdrew without hesitation that part of the measure, and remained satisfied with the assurance of the Missionaries, that the works to be hereafter printed at Serampore should be previously submitted to the revision and sanction of our Government.

32. The attention with which we listened to the representations of the Missionaries, concerning the distress which the removal of their press would occasion, was acknowledged by them in terms of fervent gratitude; and in reply to our letter communicating to the Governor of Serampore our compliance with the solicitation of the Missionaries, his Excellency expressed "his most grateful acknowledgments for the moderation we had so generously manifested" on this occasion.

33. It will be evident, from the facts and ob-

servations which we have stated to your Honourable Committee, that no innovation has taken place in the principles and practice of this Government, relatively to the controul of the productions of the press; that no new and specific imprimatur has been established for works on theology, but that the restrictions which virtually existed with regard to publications in general, were practically applied to theological works, only when works of that class, containing strictures on the religions of the country in terms the most irritating and offensive, by being circulated among our native subjects, exposed the public tranquillity to hazard.

34. Mr. Buchanan's indecent comments on our reply to the reference of the Governor of Serampore, relative to the translation of the Bible (which reply Mr. Buchanan has communicated to the Governor General, as a point of information, and as a subject of concern to his Lordship) merely suggest the expediency of remarking, that we should deem it our duty to oppose the publication of any strictures on the religions of the country, such as we have already suppressed, whether promulgated in the form of separate tracts, or of prefatory notes to a translation of the Holy Scriptures.

35. Our solicitude for the suppression of publications of that nature, combines with a vigilant attention to the public safety and tranquillity, a regard for the successful propagation of the truths of Christianity among the misguided natives of these distant countries, by the only means which can promote its success,—the operation of example in the conduct of its peach-

ers and professers, in the principles which it inculcates, and in the effects which it produces on the dignity of individual character, and on the general happiness and welfare of mankind; united also with the means of instruction, when instruction is desired; but unconnected with the language of irritation, with revilings against the religions of the country, and with prophetic denunciations of their immediate subversion.

36. We shall conclude this discussion by observing, that it has never been in the contemplation, either of the present or the preceding administration of this Government, to controul or impede the pious labours of the Missionaries, while conducted in the manner which prudence dictates, and which the orders of the Honourable Court have distinctly prescribed. But when the mistaken zeal of the Missionaries exceeded those limits which considerations of public safety, and even a solicitude for the propagation of Christian knowledge among the misguided natives of these countries, have wisely imposed; when publications and public preachings, calculated not to conciliate and convince but to irritate the minds of the people, were brought to the notice of Government, the interposition of the ruling power became necessary to preclude the apprehended effects of these dangerous and unprofitable proceedings.

We have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) MINTO,
G. HEWETT,
G. H. BARLOW,
J. LUMSDEN.

Fort-William, 7th December, 1807.

No. II.

Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors, to the Governor General in Council at Fort William in Bengal; dated 7th September, 1808.

PARA. 1. WE have received, by the General Stuart, your letter of the 2d November last, addressed to the Secret Committee, on the subject of certain publications which had issued from the Missionary Press at Serampore, and detailing the proceedings which you had thought it adviseable to adopt with regard to them.

2. Whatever is connected with an attempt to introduce Christianity among the natives of British India, cannot but be felt as a subject of the greatest importance, and of the greatest delicacy; and we lament that circumstances should have occurred in any part of our territories, to call for the interference of our government in matters of that description. We are anxious that it should be distinctly understood, that we are very far from being averse to the introduction of Christianity into India, or indifferent to the benefits which would result from the general diffusion of its doctrines; but we have a fixed and settled opinion, that nothing could be more unwise and impolitic, nothing even more likely to frustrate the hopes and endeavours of those who aim at the very object, the introduction of Christianity among the native inhabitants, than any imprudent or injudicious attempt to introduce it by means which should irritate and

alarm their religious prejudices. That the publication which first excited your attention, as well as the paper which you transmitted to us, marked C. entitled "The Rise of Wisdom," is calculated to produce those effects, we conceive can admit of no doubt; and we entirely approve of your endeavours to interrupt the circulation of them. Indeed the Missionaries themselves seem to regret and to condemn their publication. Perhaps some doubt might be fairly entertained whether a considerable part of the paper marked B. was of a nature to have excited similar feelings, if the other publications did not prepare the mind to receive with some jealousy any works which issued from the same press. In suggesting the possibility of this doubt, we by no means intend to convey any disapprobation of that prudent precaution which led you to prevent the further publication of this last, together with those which appear to us to be more unquestionably exceptionable. It is a matter of great difficulty to draw the line which should at once describe and characterize the publications which might be permitted to be considered as inoffensive, and at the same time distinguish them from those which a proper precaution would suppress; and at this distance from the scene of Government, we can only state to you those general principles which we are desirous should direct your conduct upon this point. For this purpose, we would refer you to a passage in our political letter to Fort St. George of the 29th May, 1807, in which we briefly intimated, in the following terms, our sentiments of what the character and conduct of

Christian Missionaries in India, and the carriage of the Company's Government towards them ought to be. "When we afforded our countenance and sanction to the Missionaries who have from time to time proceeded to India for the purpose of propagating the Christian Religion, it was far from being in our contemplation to add the influence of our authority to any attempts they might make; for, on the contrary, we were perfectly aware that the progress of real conversion would be gradual and slow, arising more from a conviction of the purity of the principles of our religion itself, and from the pious example of its teachers, than from any undue influence, or from the exertions of authority, which are never to be resorted to in such cases." In the same spirit we would still wish to affirm as a principle, the desirableness of imparting the knowledge of Christianity to the natives of British India; but we must also contend, that the means to be used for that end shall be only such as shall be free from any political danger or alarm.

3. With these two positions, which appear to us to be fundamental on the subject in question, the 39th paragraph of your despatch now before us, in substance corresponds; for you there, after acknowledging "your entire conviction of the correctness of the statement which the Memorial of the Missionaries contains, relative to the motives and objects of their zeal for the propagation of the sacred doctrines of Christianity," observe, "Our duty as guardians of the public welfare, and even a consentaneous

solicitude for the diffusion of the blessings of Christianity, merely require us to restrain the efforts of that commendable zeal within those limits, the transgression of which would, in our decided judgment, expose to hazard the public safety and tranquillity, without promoting its intended object." Agreeing then with you in general views on this question, and impressed with the necessity of leaving the application of these principles to the discretion of the Government upon the spot, we feel that we have but little further to suggest to you upon that part of the subject.

4. We observe with great satisfaction the temperate and respectful conduct of the Society of Missionaries, in the discussions which took place on the subject of the publications to which your attention was directed, and of the measures which you felt yourselves called upon to adopt; and we entirely approve of the permission which you granted to them of continuing their press at Serampore. Their residence at that place would propably be attended with little additional inconvenience to your Government; and we conclude, moreover, that the British authority has long ago been established at the different Danish settlements in India. We are well aware that the progress of the Missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, for a long period of years, has not been attended with injurious consequences: their numbers have not been sufficient to excite alarm, and their general conduct has been prudent and conciliatory; and we have no reason to suppose that the mere circulation, in a peaceable and unobtrusive manner, of trans-

lations of the Scriptures, is likely to be attended with consequences dangerous to the public safety.

5. The paramount power which we now possess in India, undoubtedly demands from us additional caution upon this subject. It imposes upon us the necessity, as well as strengthens our obligation, to protect the native inhabitants in the free and undisturbed profession of their religious opinions, and to take care that they are neither harassed nor irritated by any premature or over-zealous attempts to convert them to Christianity.

6. In conveying to you our approbation of the controul which you had determined to exercise with regard to such publications as might issue from the press of the Missionaries, we trust that it will be found not only salutary to the interests of Government but even satisfactory to the considerate part of the Missionaries themselves.—They must be aware that it is quite consistent with doing all justice to the excellency of the motives on which they act to apprehend that their zeal may sometimes require a check, and that it may be useful and necessary to introduce the controul or superintendance of Government; whose responsibility for the public tranquillity will force it to direct its views to those political considerations which the zeal of the Missionaries might overlook.

7. If, indeed, you had foreseen that the Missionaries, would have shewn that entire and ready submissiveness to Government which their conduct has manifested, we think you would have doubted of the expediency of holding, un-

der the circumstances you have described, a public proceeding upon their transactions; and we would only suggest, that if on any future occasion any fresh precautionary measures should become indispensable, and the interference of Government be again required, it would be desirable, in the first instance at least, to see whether a private communication from the Governor General might not effect all that is desired, without bringing into view the instrumentality of Government. Its authority cannot be seen actively to controul any of their proceedings, without exposing it to the inference of specially sanctioning and countenancing such publications and such conduct as it does not prevent, and thereby making the Government in some degree a party to the Acts of the Missionaries, and making the Missionaries appear in the character of the agents of Government.

8. In adverting to your prohibition of the public preaching in Calcutta to the Hindoos and Mahomedans; at the time when we approve of this measure of precaution, we do not understand you to object to the Missionaries decently performing, at their usual places of residence, the duties of their religion, in chapels or rooms, at which admittance may be given to their converts or to other Christians. We presume that the number of chaplains which we have appropriated for the performance of religious duties at Calcutta, is sufficient for all the British or other inhabitants of that place who comprehend the English language; but we do not recollect it to have been your intention to preclude other

Christians there from hearing Divine service performed in a language which they understood.

9. Having thus explained to you, as briefly as possible, the principles on which we wish you to act with regard to the Missionaries, it remains for us only to advert to your suggestion, that we should "discourage any accession to the number of Missionaries actually employed under the protection of the British Government in India in the work of conversion." You are of course aware, that many of the meritorious individuals who have devoted themselves to those labours, were not British subjects, or living under our authority; and that none of the Missionaries have proceeded to Bengal with our license.

10. Entertaining the sentiments which we have expressed in the preceding parts of this despatch, we are very far from disapproving of your having refrained from resorting to the authority vested in you by law, and enforcing its provisions in all their strictness against the Missionaries; and we rely on your discretion, that you will abstain from all unnecessary or ostentatious interference with their proceedings. On the other hand, it will be your bounden duty vigilantly to guard the public tranquillity from interruption, and to impress upon the minds of all the inhabitants of India, that the British faith, on which they rely for the free exercise of their religion, will be inviolably maintained.

Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor General in Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated 7th Sept. 1808.

PARA. 12. SINCE the preceding paragraphs were written, your letter of the 7th December, 1807, to the Secret Committee, has been received, with copies of the Letter and Memorial addressed to the Governor General by the Reverend Dr. Claudius Buchanan.

13. We desire to express our entire satisfaction at the explanation which you have thought it necessary to give to your proceedings; and as most of the observations which would naturally have occurred to us on the perusal of those documents have already been stated in this letter, we deem it unnecessary to enlarge further on this subject.

14. With every disposition to make due allowance in favor of ardent zeal in the cause of Religion, it would have been impossible for us to avoid noticing the improper style of Dr Buchanan's Address to the supreme Authority in India, if his subsequent departure from thence had not in some degree relieved us from that necessity. We shall content ourselves at present with remarking, that Dr. Buchanan, as well as all other Ecclesiastics who promulgate the doctrines of Christianity in India, and who bestow such just and merited encomiums on the conduct of the Missionary Swartz, would do well to adopt it as the model of their own; and should always recollect that discretion and moderation in their language and actions are most consistent with the mild spirit of our religion,

and are indispensably requisite for those who are employed in prosecuting the laborious work of conversion.

[*Taken from the East-India Papers, printed by order of the House of Commons, No.* 142, *pp.* 72—74 *and p.* 85.]

No. III.

Letter from General Hay M'Dowall, Commander in Chief of the Forces under the Presidency of Fort St. George, to the Governor and Council of that Presidency; dated 24th Nov. 1807, *respecting the Mutiny at Vellore; with the proceedings of Government thereupon.—(Extracted from the East-India Papers, printed by order of the House of Commons, No.* 194, *p.* 10—12.)

EXTRACT FORT ST. GEORGE MILITARY CONSULTATIONS, 24th NOV. 1807.

Read the following Letter from the Commander in Chief.

The Chief Secretary to Government.

SIR,

IN obedience to the wish expressed by the Honourable the Governor in Council, contained in the Military Secretary's letter of the 17th in-

stant, I have the honour to convey my sentiments on the important subject.

The plea of interference in religious scruples has been, during many ages, a dreadful weapon in the hands of the factious, discontented and bigoted; but the emissaries who were said to be so assiduously employed in seducing the loyalty and affection of the Sepoys, have happily, under this pretext, made little progress in their insidious and malignant designs.

It may occasion some degree of surprise that the people of this country, should be brought to believe, that those who apparently conduct themselves with so much apathy in respect to what concerns religious worship, should have formed any serious scheme for converting whole nations of different casts and persuasions to the Christian faith. None but the weakest and most superstitious could have been deluded by so improbable a tale; and accordingly we find the rumour alluded to was by no means general, and, except at Hydrabad, it had made little or no impression.

In making the above remark on the indifference which is manifested in the adoration of the Supreme Being, I must add, in justice to the military character, that it chiefly proceeds from a want of places (and, at several stations, of clergymen) exclusively appropriated for Divine service; and I trust I shall be excused if I suggest the propriety of having convenient chapels, of moderate price, constructed in all situations within the Company's territories where European troops are likely to be quartered. Whatever may be urged to the contrary, I am convinced

that such an improvement, independent of the obvious advantages, would render the British character more respected by the natives, and be attended by no evil consequences.

Viewing the object of the Honourable Court of Directors to have been fully anticipated by the several orders which have already been promulgated, and being of opinion that this almost obsolete question ought not to be revived, the discussion should here terminate publicly. I take the liberty, however, to propose to the Honourable the Governor in Council, that a copy of the extract from the despatches of the Honourable Court should be transmitted confidentially to General Officers or others, in command of divisions or separate bodies of troops, that the judgment of the Court on this point may be disseminated with delicacy and caution.

Madras, 19 Nov. 1807 } I have the honour to be, &c. &c.
(Signed) HAY M'DOWALL.

Resolved, That the recommendation of the Commander in Chief, for the construction of Chapels at the several stations usually occupied by European troops, be brought to the notice of the Honourable the Court of Directors; and that in the mean time the Commander in Chief be desired to issue such directions as he may deem most proper for ensuring the regular performance of Divine worship at those stations, without incurring expense in the construction or hire of buildings for that particular purpose.

Resolved, That the Commander in Chief's opinion, respecting the inexpediency of publish-

ing to the native army any further declaration on the subject of their religion and customs, be confirmed; but that he be authorized, according to his suggestion, to communicate the sentiments expressed by the Honourable Court, regarding the native troops, in a confidential manner, to commanding officers of corps and stations.

Extract Military Letter from Fort St. George, dated the 24th Dec. 1807.

46. Your Honourable Court having particularly adverted, in your political despatch of the 29th May 1807, to the apprehension which was supposed to prevail among the native troops, that it was intended by the British Government to compel them to become converts to Christianity, and having furnished us with conditional instructions for counteracting that unfounded fear by the formal publication of certain Resolutions of a different tendency in the name and by the order of your Honourable Court, we deemed it proper to furnish the Commander in Chief with copies of the paragraphs containing your sentiments and instructions on that subject.

47. The general knowledge which we possessed of the present state of the native army of Fort St. George, induced us to believe that the publication eventually authorized by your Honourable Court, would, under existing circumstances, be equally inexpedient and unnecessary; but considering the particular responsibility which attaches to the Commander in

Chief on every question relating to the fidelity and subordination of the army, it was thought proper that his opinion should be formally required on this point, and that he should be requested to state his sentiments fully for our consideration.

48. We consider the Letter which we received from the Commander in Chief, in reply, to be highly creditable to that officer, and to deserve the particular attention of your Honourable Court.

49. The Commander in Chief has observed, that it may occasion some degree of surprise that the people of this country should be brought to believe that persons, who apparently conduct themselves with so much apathy in respect to religious worship, should have formed any serious scheme for converting whole nations of different casts and persuasions to the Christian faith; and Lieutenant General M'Dowall is accordingly of opinion that the rumour was by no means general, and that, except at Hydrabad, it had made but little impression.

50. The Commander in Chief has, at the same time, in justice to the military character, expressed his belief that the indifference manifested by the European inhabitants of India in the adoration of the Supreme Being chiefly proceeds from the very limited number of clergymen and from a want of places exclusively appropriated for Divine service. He has therefore suggested the propriety of constructing convenient chapels at a moderate expense, at all stations where European troops may probably be quartered; and, whatever may be urged to the contrary, he

has stated his conviction that such an improvement, independent of its advantages in a religious view, would render the British character more respected by the natives, and would not be attended by any evil consequences

51. With respect to the object of your Honourable Court, the Commader in Chief considers it to have been fully anticipated by the several orders already published under the authority of this Government; and being of opinion that this obsolete question ought not to be revived, he has recommended that the public discussion of it should be immediately terminated. It has however been suggested by Lieutenant General M'Dowall, that extracts from the despatch of your Honourable Court should be transmitted confidentially to commanding officers; that the judgment of your Honourable Court, on this point, may be disseminated with delicacy and caution.

52. Entirely concurring in the sentiments expressed by the Commander in Chief, we have desired him to circulate your orders in the manner which he may deem most adviseable; and with respect to his suggestion for the general construction of chapels at the principal stations of the army, we beg that you will furnish us with early directions on that subject. In the mean time, Lieutenant General M'Dowall has been requested to issue such orders as may appear to be best calculated to ensure the regular performance of Divine worship, without incurring expense in the construction or hire of buildings for that particular purpose.

No. IV.

Minute of George Udny, Esq. Member of the Supreme Council in Bengal, protesting against "superintending" the idol Juggernaut, "as tending to perpetuate a system of gross idolatry:" Extracted from the Bengal Judicial Consultations of 3d April, 1806.—(Taken from the East-India Papers, printed by Order of the House of Commons, No. 194, p. 41.)

I APPROVE of the following Regulations, with the exception of those parts of it which provide for the superintendance and management of the temple at Juggernaut, and the payment of its officers.

The making provision by law for such purposes, it appears to me, would operate to sanction, and tend to perpetuate, a system of gross idolatry, which government is neither bound nor does it seem becoming in it to do.

I would leave the temple and its whole economy exclusively to the direction and management of its own officers, allowing them to collect the regular established fees they have hitherto been accustomed to do, securing the pilgrims at the same time against every thing of a vexatious nature from the extortion and oppression of those officers.

If the revenue with which the temple is endowed be insufficient for its support, I would reduce the rate of tax proposed to be levied from

the pilgrims, relinquishing the remainder to be applied to that purpose, in order that Government should have no direct concern of any kind in what relates to the maintenance of the Temple, or the payment of its officers, but appropriate solely to its own use the whole of the tax levied from the pilgrims by its officers.

(Signed) G. U.

No. V.

Letter from Charles Buller, Esq. M. P. to the Honourable, the Court of Directors, respecting the Idol Juggernaut, dated the 19th May, 1813, (laid on the table of the House of Commons, and ordered to be printed, 24th May, 1813.

TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS OF THE HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Honourable Sirs,

CONSIDERING the very exaggerated and unfounded opinions which appear to be entertained in England, in regard to the conduct of the Bengal Government at Jaghanath, and in respect to the atrocities said to be practised there; it has been suggested to me, as I was so long on the spot, and as I had so much to do in framing the existing regulations relative to the

tax levied from the pilgrims, that I should take an opportunity of giving such information as might place the matter in its proper point of view. The best mode, therefore, which presents itself to me of communicating the information I possess, is to address myself to your Honourable Court.

The object I have in view is, to correct the erroneous opinions which seem to prevail in regard to the conduct of our Government, with reference to the temple, and to remove the exaggerated ideas entertained in respect to the atrocities said to be practised there.

With respect to the first point, as far as I can recollect, it seems to be supposed that our Government at Bengal is busied in the controul and regulation of Hindoo worship; and that it is actively employed in the encouragement of idolatry, for the purpose of revenue. Your Honourable Court must be fully aware how studiously the regulations have guarded against committing the Government in any way whatever, respecting questions which might arise relative to the interior concerns of the temple. The clauses which refer to the power reserved by Government of removing the Patron of the Temple, and to the permission given to the head ministerial officers to remonstrate against any orders issued by the Patron, afford the only possible opportunities for Government to interfere in regard to the interior. But considering the vast power vested in the Patron, and the means which he has of extensive oppression and extortion, I considered those powers to be essentially necessary; and although I am perfectly

sensible that they never will be exercised, except in an extreme case, yet the result of my subsequent experience at the Board of Revenue has tended to shew, that it was prudent to adopt the clauses in question.

With regard to the encouragement of idolatry, most assuredly nothing of the kind occurs on the part of Government; unless, indeed, it be supposed that the liberal wish to protect and secure its native subjects in the due exercise of their religious as well as civil liberties be pronounced to be an encouragement of idolatry.—If an anxious desire, on the part of Government, to remove all unlawful impediments and obstacles from out of the way of the Hindoos worshipping with ease and convenience to themselves, be construed into an encouragement of idolatry, in that case, I apprehend the Bengal Government must plead guilty to the charge.

With regard to the revenue, that seems to me to be a question which has been considerably misunderstood; for, from the mode in which I have heard gentlemen express themselves with reference to that point, they appear to consider this revenue to be taken as a price for the permission of idolatry, and consequently they seem to think, that if the Government would consent to give up the revenue, the idolatry would of course cease. Surely nothing can be more erroneous than the above opinion; for I suppose no one would venture to say, that the ruling power in Hindostan, whatever its religion may be, should interfere to prevent the Hindoos from having access to their own temples. If, then, you allow access to the temples at Jaghanath,

such access must be subjected to restraint and regulation; and I know not a more powerful means of restraint and regulation than is afforded by the tax. I can speak from my own knowledge of the fact, that the imposition of the tax, so far from operating as an encouragement to persons to resort there, has had a direct contrary tendency; for during the time that access was allowed without the tax, the throng of people at the place was so great, and such a considerable number of the poorer classes took that opportunity of visiting the temple, that I was informed that several persons perished from actual want of subsistence. The scenes on the road were, I am told, truly shocking; but since the tax has been continued, the numbers of the pilgrims, particularly of the lower classes, have considerably diminished. I have passed several times backwards and forwards between Cattach and Jaghanath (and that too, just previous to the Ruth Jattrah, or festival of the Charist) without seeing many objects of wretchedness. I certainly have seen two or three poor wretched objects, exhausted by their long journey, and almost starving. But this is no very great matter of surprise, when it is recollected that the pilgrims come from all parts of Hindostan, from upwards of 1,600 miles distance; and that a large proportion of these consist of the old and infirm, who come for the express purpose of laying their bones within the precincts of the city. It seems to me that the question of revenue lies within a very small compass. If it be thought that it is inconsistent with our religion to permit the Hindoos to resort to their tem-

ples, the tax in that case is obviously improper; but if it be the duty of our government to allow its native subjects to worship according to their own ideas, I should regret to see the tax abolished, as the abolition of it would render it difficult to restrain and regulate the numerous bodies of prilgrims who resort to the place; and it would, in all probability, be the cause of the revival of those horrid scenes of distress which were before experienced, when the tax was discontinued, and of which the traces are still to be met with in the numerous human bones on the road. I have heard it observed, that the tax in question is something similar to a tax upon gambling houses, or other houses of ill fame: but surely there is a most essential difference between the two cases. The objection to the former I understand to be this—that the taxation amounts virtually to a license of that which is, in its nature, immoral; but in this case, I do not understand there is any question whether the Government is to allow its subjects access to their own temples: Government must admit the access, whether it takes a tax or not. Under that circumstance, therefore, I cannot see what possible objection there is to the continuance of an established tax of this nature, particularly when it is taken into consideration what large pensions in land and money are allowed by our Government in all parts of the country, for keeping up the religious institutions both of the Hindoos and the Mussulmans.

In respect to the atrocities said to be practised at the place, they refer to the immolations under the wheels of the car on which the idol is

carried. That such things occur, there can be no doubt; but certainly not to the extent, nor exactly from the same motive, as seems to be supposed by many in England. It would appear to be a prevailing opinion, that these immolations are of frequent occurrence; that they are a duty prescribed to the Hindoos by their religion; and, consequently, that such duty is often carried into performance. Whether it be a duty or not, I cannot positively say; but I believe it to be no part of their religion, and that, in point of fact, it is no more a duty prescribed to the Hindoos, than it was a duty prescribed to the Christian Ascetics to live in the austere and curious modes in which many of them formerly did, in the early ages of Christianity. Indeed, the infrequency of the act is the fullest proof, I conceive, that it is not an act of duty prescribed to any sect of Hindoos whatever. I was at Jaghanath during the whole of the Ruth Jattrah (in 1809 I think it was,) and I heard of but one instance of an immolation under the wheels of the car. I should not suppose it possible that another instance could have happened during that festival, without my hearing of it. But supposing, instead of one, there were ten times the number, what would it amount to?—that out of a population of nearly two hundred millions, (for I suppose the whole of the Hindoo population, as far as Cabul, to be not much short of two hundred millions,) there are to be found ten fanatics, fools and madmen enough to commit such an act at Jaghanath.

There is another matter to be mentioned, but of which I was totally ignorant till very lately,

when it was particularly pointed out to me, in order that I might say whether it were correct or otherwise, I allude to the circumstances of the indecency said to be exhibited on the car of the idol. On that point my attention was directed to a publication by the Rev. Dr. Claudius Buchanan, who speaks of a priest having pronounced certain obscene stanzas in the ears of the people, and of certain indecent gestures exhibited by a boy and priest on the car. With respect to the songs, how the author came to know what the priest was repeating, he does not state. I do not mean to doubt the fact; but I do think, if the procession was any thing at all like that which I saw, there is no room to suppose that the author's ears, even if he did understand the language, could have been shocked by his actually hearing the songs. To give some idea of the thing to gentlemen in England, I would beg them to represent to themselves the car in progress between Charing Cross and Parliament Street, the whole of the way as crowded as possible with people, clapping their hands, talking, shouting, and merry-making; and can it be conceived, that in such a noise a person could have his ears shocked by hearing what the priest was repeating, when, owing to the distance of the platform on which he stands, one could not by any endeavors get within ten yards of him. I am sure I could not hear any thing which was said; and during the whole of the time I was present, the noise was incessant, without intermission; and according to the nature of things I conceive it must be so, in a crowd of about one hundred thousand. Upon this point, however,

if I can rely upon the information I have received, the songs in question are denominated by the natives Cubbee, a species of song not very unlike that which is admitted into our own sacred writings. Ours, I imagine, are not at present read in any part of our service; but whoever knows any thing of the Hindoos, must be aware that their veneration for antiquity will not allow them to depart from any thing which has once formed a part of their ceremonies.—With respect to the indecent gestures said to have been exhibited on the car, all I can say is that if such things are done, I never saw them, and what is more, I never heard of them till I came to England. To give you an irrefragable proof of what I have asserted relative to my ignorance, and to the ignorance of the other gentlemen on the spot, of any thing of the nature alleged ever happening, I need only mention that I believe there was not a single lady at the station who did not accompany her husband to see the procession. Had we had the slightest surmise of that which is asserted to be a fact, most unquestionably those ladies would not have been there. But I do most solemnly declare, that I never did hear the most distant hint of any thing indecent having been seen, or of any thing in the slightest degree resembling indecency. With regard to the temple, there certainly are indecent figures on it, but certainly not more than what we see every day in representations of ancient sculpture. Indeed they are so badly done, that I do declare, that if they had not been pointed out to me, I should never have known that they were there.

It has been suggested, that I should say something more about the charge which has been made against our Government, for not interfering to put a stop to the immolations. If I had been asked before Mr. Graham gave his evidence before the House of Commons, I should have said, that I did not know that the Government had interfered at all. I never heard of it; and as it appears to me so utterly impossible for the Government to interfere with effect, I should have supposed they never had attempted it. I have said before, that I understand that it is no part of a duty prescribed to any sect of Hindoos, to devote themselves under the wheels of the car. I believe, from every thing I have heard, that the Brahmins have no concern at all in encouraging the fanatic to destroy himself; and that, in point of fact, they are as ignorant of any one's having the intention of devoting himself as we are here. I never heard that there are any previous ablutions or purifications, which are usual when the priests interfere on such momentous occasions. How then can the Government interfere? The man, I believe, does not communicate his intention; and I think it not at all unlikely that he himself does not intend it till a little before he throws himself under the wheels. As for preventing it at the spot, it is utterly impossible. In such a crowd no one knows what his next neighbour is about. In short, it appears to me, that people may with as much justice censure our government at home, for not preventing suicide in the variety of ways in which we are informed it is practi-

sed, as they may the government abroad, for not preventing the immolation in question.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) C. BULLER.

London, 19th May, 1813.

No. VI.

"The Forerunner of the Holy Bible;" being a —translation of a—Tract in the Bengalee Language, printed by the Missionaries; which the Bengal Government transmitted to the Court of Directors (marked B.) as being, in their judgment, calculated to inflame the prejudices of the Hindoos. (Extracted from the East India Papers, printed by order of the House of Commons, No. 142, *pp.* 65, 66.

HEAR, O worldly men! hear with an attentive mind, how you may obtain salvation from terrible hell. None of you seek for that; your thoughts are constantly employed about money, about all these trifles, and this world: every one of you is incessantly contemplating this world. All these things will be necessary but for a short time: after death you will by no means have property. Know all of you, that on being born you must die, and that after death you must either go to heaven or to hell: and without remission of sins you cannot go to heaven; with down-

cast countenance you will be cast into awful hell. What is hell like, or what sort the torments in it? Be informed: no one of you thinks of making himself acquainted with that. Insufferable hell is filled with everlasting fire, which will never be extinguished. On falling therein, brethren, there is no further preservation: the end of eternity is a beginning to it. Ye are afraid, but afterwards fall into this awful hell. Beware of this inextinguishable fire: make Christ your asylum; take an asylum; for without that, no one of you will obtain salvation. Both Hindoos and Mussulmans have many sastras, the object whereof we have strictly examined, and there is no work of true redemption among them; they are sastras for the amusement of children; they are like tales.

In the Hindoo sastras there is an account of ten incarnations. Let me plainly state them, and listen. In the first place, there was Narrayn in the form of a fish, for the protection of Sateebroto.

The second was a tortoise, for the support of the earth; the third a boar, to lift it up; the fourth was the man lion, to destroy the demons; in the fifth, the dwarf took Bali to hell; in the sixth, Parrusram destroyed the Khitrees; in the seventh, Ramchunder killed Kabon; in the eighth, Christna killed Cangra; and in the ninth, Buddha manifested the Buddhites. And if the story of the nine incarnations be true, still there is no redeemer. What will you do? how will you be redeemed from sin?—But we will point out a remedy.

We formerly had a similar sastra; but when

we obtained the Great Sastra, we renounced that. Allow us to give you some information concerning it. If you be desirous of a remedy, attend and hear.

At that time, when the Almighty had finished the creation, he gave a mighty order to all men. He gave an account of heaven and hell. He pointed out the distinction between right and wrong. "Hear all of you my infallible order. What I say, I will do: that is certain. If any be pure and practise holiness, I will give them matchless glory in heaven; but if any one sin, I will certainly cast him into eternal fire."

This is the primary order of God; after which mankind became wicked, and God knew it, but there was no redemption, and he ordered that some remedy should be provided. Through his mercy there was a provision for the redemption of sinners. If any person should assume birth on earth, and take upon himself the torment of sinners, those sinners who sincerely believe in him should be redeemed: and there was an incarnation of Jesus the protector of the unprotected, full of the splendour of God, having been separated from his body in a column of splendour before him. He said, "I will take birth on earth, and suffer all the torment of sins on my body. Whatever sinners take refuge under my protection, you will grant them salvation." God said, "Yes, this is my promise, I will redeem them. Mortals are under thy protection." After which, the Lord was conceived in the country of Judea, according to prophecy, in the womb of a woman. During his life on earth, he took the name of Jesus Christ, and

he performed many miracles in various places. The blind recived sight; the dead life. He did many such miracles, he was so great. And he fulfilled the sayings of the Prophets, and was killed by the hands of the people of his own nation, and gave up his life under various kinds of torment; and after three days he arose again: and because he suffered torment in his body for sins, therefore he was denominated Saviour of Sinners.

Christ did not die like people in general: he suffered much torment, and died miraculously.

When he took upon himself to suffer for us, his torment was intolerable. Amidst these sufferings, he called out and said, "O God! why hast thou forsaken me, and left me in the hands of sinners?" And they spit upon him, vexed him and mocked him, and put a crown of thorns upon his head, and fixed his feet and hands upon a cross with nails; and when they had inflicted severe punishments upon him, they killed him. They pierced his breast with nails, and exhausted him; and when he shed his blood, they caused him to drink vinegar mixed with galls; and having tormented him in this manner, they killed him. They fastened two thieves, one on his right hand and one on his left; and when they had disgraced him in this manner, they killed him. In this manner died the Saviour of the World. On his own body he suffered the torment of sinners; and it was requisite for him to do so: without that, God would not have redeemed mankind. He paid the ransom of all sinners; and according to the security which he gave, so it came to pass. His death was the

preservation of our life: his sufferings were the source of joy to the whole of us. The sufferings of Jesus Christ atoned to God for the torment of eternal hell fire. God accepted of all that, and the faith of Jesus Christ, for the sake of sinners. He accepted of the death of Jesus Christ, in exchange for the eternal death of sinners. As righteousness was the garment of Jesus Christ, so let us make faith in him our vesture. We go before God after death. Can you go in the presence of God? You cannot go before God by taking the name of Ram Chrishn Sheeb, or any other deity, seeing all those sinners was an abomination to the Lord. They will suffer eternal torment in awful hell; but it is a great consolation to his mind to hear of the works and name of Christ.

Christ is now with God, for the redemption of sinners who worship him. Those who die worshippers of him on earth, he cheerfully takes to the mansion of Heaven. Hear, hear, O people! hear my words. A copious work on this subject, named the Gospel, was first in the Hebrew and Greek: from these, the English made a translation of it; but not they alone; various other nations made a translation of this great and principal Sastra. The French, Dutch, Germans, Danes, Armenians, and various others, copied it. It went to America and Africa, and all other countries, and to all the principal islands. This holy book went to all these countries, and even in Malabar it was translated into Hindee. Whoever obtained this holy book renounced all previous sastras, and espoused it. It has now been translated into the Bengally lan-

guage and printed. Any one who wishes to hear this work, may come to Serampore, and we will read it to him.

Printed at Serampore, 1806—1213.

(A true Copy.)

(Signed) *N. B. Edmonstone,*
Secretary to Government.

No. VII.

Memorial, addressed by the Baptist Missionaries to the Right Honourable Gilbert Lord Minto, Governor General of India, praying that the Bengal Government would spare their Mission. Dated Mission-House, Serampore, 30th September, 1807. *(Extracted from the East-India Papers, printed by order of the House of Commons, No.* 142, *pp.* 56—61.*)*

TO THE RIGHT HON. GILBERT LORD MINTO, GOV. GENERAL OF INDIA, &c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

1. THE Society of Missionaries residing at Serampore entreat permission to lay before your Lordship, with the greatest submission, a full and undisguised statement of their situation, circumstances and views; humbly casting themselves on your Lordship's clemency, and imploring such relief as your Lordship's candour, and wisdom, and attachment to the Protestant Religion may suggest.

2. Your Lordship's Memorialists beg permis-

mission humbly to represent, that in the year 1792 a number of ministers and others of the Baptist Denomination, reflecting on the blessings they enjoyed through the Christian Revelation, and feeling it their indispensable duty to attempt imparting the same to the heathen, formed themselves into a voluntary society, by the name of the Baptist Missionary Society; and that your Lordship's Memorialists, influenced by the same views, by the advice of this society, engaged in a mission to India.

3. They entreat permission further to state, that one of your Lordship's Memorialists and his friend, since dead, landed at Calcutta in the year 1793; who being soon after entrusted, by a gentleman high in the service, with the care of two indigo works in the district of Dinagepore, began to learn the Bengalee language, translate the Scriptures, and dispense Christian instruction to the natives of that and the neighbouring districts: and although this was continued for six years, nothing appeared on the part of the natives but the highest satisfaction.

4. That the right Honourable Lord Teignmouth, being then Governor General of India, was pleased to grant these two Missionaries the covenants of that time granted to British subjects in India.

5. They entreat permission further humbly to represent, that in the year 1799, four other Missionaries arriving at Serampore were invited by his Excellency Colonel Bie, late Governor of Serampore, to settle in that colony, open an European school, set up their printing press, and instruct the natives of that settlement in

Christianity, under the patronage of his Danish Majesty; and that your Lordship's Memorialists felt it their duty to accept his Excellency's invitation.

6. That in consequence of a representation made by his Excellency Colonel Bie, his Danish Majesty's was pleased to direct the Royal College of Commerce at Copenhagen, to signify his pleasure to the Governor of Serampore, that the Society of Missionaries be considered as under his Majesty's protection and patronage, which they accordingly signified by a letter bearing date September 5th, 1801.

7. That, thus encouraged by the Danish Government, your Lordship's Memorialists proceeded to print the Scriptures in the Bengalee language; and, by preaching and diffusing religious tracts, to instruct the native inhabitants of that settlement in the Christian religion; and that his Excellency the late Colonel Bie was pleased at the baptism of the first Hindoo convert, to honour the Missionaries with his presence.

8. That, after the Scriptures were published, many came to Serampore from different parts of the country to request copies, and to seek Christian instruction; and that a considerable number, at different times, have received Christian baptism.

9. That of those who thus came from a distance, some entreated your Lordship's Memorialists to accompany them to their respective homes, for the sake of instructing their neighbours and friends, who, though equally desirous of Christian instruction, were unable to take so

long a journey: that in several instances they complied with these invitations, and invariably found these excursions attended with perfect quietness as well as safety to their own persons, although they appeared simply as Christian teachers; and the people whom they thus visited were in several instances Mahomedans.

10. Your Lordship's Memorialists entreat permission farther to represent, that on occasion of the printing presses at Calcutta being placed under the controul of Government, the Most Noble the Marquis Wellesley was pleased to inquire respecting the press at Serampore; but on being informed that (official papers for the Danish Government excepted) the Missionaries confined its operations to printing the Scriptures and religious tracts, and made it an invariable rule to print nothing of a political nature, his Lordship was pleased to express his satisfaction at the press of Serampore being thus employed.

11. That his Lordship was pleased soon after to accept a copy of the New Testament, translated by the Missionaries into the Bengalee language, and to express his approbation of the undertaking.

12. That, in 1801, his Lordship was pleased to appoint one of your Lordship's Memorialists teacher of the Bengalee and Sangskrit languages in the College of Fort William.

13. That his Lordship was pleased soon after to direct the Missionaries to prepare and print the Psalms of David, and the Book of Isaiah, as a class-book in the Bengalee language, for the use of the College.

14. That on a subsequent occasion, his Lordship was pleased to assure one of your Lordship's Memorialists, that he was perfectly acquainted with all the concerns and operations of the Missionaries at Serampore, and felt great satisfaction at their affairs being attended with such a degree of success.

15. They entreat permission also to represent, that in the year 1803 a copy of the New Testament, and the Pentateuch, in the Bengalee language, were presented to his Majesty by R. Bowyer, Esq. of Pall Mall; and that his Majesty was pleased graciously to accept them, and to direct that his Majesty's thanks be given to the Baptist Missionary Society.

16. They humbly beg leave further to represent, that early in the year 1804, reflecting on the situation of the different countries around, as destitute of the Holy Scriptures, your Lordship's Memorialists felt it their duty to request the assistance of the public in Europe, in the work of translating and publishing the Scriptures in the languages of India.

17. That in the year 1805, a letter was received from the British and Foreign Bible Society, of which the Right Honourable Lord Teignmouth is President, and the Bishops of London, Durham, Exeter, and St. David's, the Right Honourable Lord Radstock, Admiral Gambier, Sir W. Pepperell, William Wilberforce, and Charles Grant, Esq. Vice Presidents; the following extract from which, they humbly entreat permission to submit to your Lordship.

London, July 23, 1804.

"Resolved,—That George Udny, Esq. the Reverend David Brown, the Reverend Claudius Buchanan, and Messrs. Carey, Ward, and Marshman, be requested to form a Committee, and to correspond with the Society respecting the best means of promoting the object of this Institution, with regard to the Eastern Languages."

(Signed) *John Owen*, Secretary.

18. That in the year 1806, your Lordship's Memorialists published a Memoir, in India, relative to the translations of the Scriptures, of which copies were transmitted to the Honourable the Court of Directors, the Right Honourable the President of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Right Reverend the Bishops, the Universities in Britain, and a number of public bodies and private gentlemen.

19. That in consequence of this Memoir, a considerable sum was subscribed by gentlemen at this Presidency to carry forward the work; and that subscriptions have been received on the same account from England and Scotland, and also from the United States of America.

20. Thus have your Lordship's Memorialists, humbly relying on your Lordship's clemency, laid open, in the most unreserved manner, the whole of their circumstances. Conscious of no evil design, they have never attempted concealment, but have year by year laid the whole of their conduct before the public, both in Britain and India. And they entreat permission further humbly to state, that in the

course of their missionary labours, they have baptized upwards of 100 natives, including Hindoos and Mussulmans: of these, the first 10 were inhabitants of Serampore, and the rest such as came from different parts of the country seeking Christian instruction. Among these, twelve were Brahmins, sixteen of the Writer cast, and five Mussulmans. Your Lordship's Memorialists entreat permission to add, that neither the baptism of the Brahmins nor Mussulmans created any kind of alarm, although the circumstances attending them were perfectly well known to a great distance around.

21. Your Lordship's Memorialists humbly entreat permission further to represent, that in thus affording Christian instruction to natives, they were perfectly unconscious of acting contrary to the declared will of the British Nation and Legislature, or to the existing regulations of the Honourable Company. Conscious of the salutary effects of renovating the mind and regulating the passions, they wished to impart the blessing to their Hindoo fellow-subjects; happy in the idea that in every real convert they were securing to their country a friend, a subject obeying from new principles, and cordially attached to the British Nation by new and inviolable ties.

22. They entreat permission further to represent, that, though perfectly acquainted with, and highly revering, the principles which induced the British Legislature to guarantee to their Indian Subjects the full and undisturbed possession of their different religious opinions, your Lordship's Memorialists were perfectly uncon-

scious of violating those principles, inasmuch as the most solemn engagements of this nature in Britain are never supposed to preclude religious discussion; and from the liberal and generous nature of the Protestant religion, they were led to imagine that a Protestant nation, while utterly averse to coercion, could not but wish their Hindoo subjects might, in some prudent and safe method, receive Christion instruction.

23. They humbly entreat permission further to state, that this supposition was strengthened by perusing in Russell's Collection of Statutes concerning the Incorporation, Trade, and Commerce of the East-India Company, printed at London in 1786, and dedicated to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, an abridgment of the Charters of Incorporation granted to the several East-India Companies; which abridgment, among others, contains an abstract of the Charter granted to the Honourable Company by his Majesty King William the Third, and bearing date September 5th, 1698; in which it is stipulated, page 20, of the abridgment, that, "the Ministers of the Honourable Company are to learn the Portuguese and Hindoo languages, to enable them to instruct the Gentoos, &c. in the Christian religion, &c.

24. Your Lordship's Memorialists humbly acknowledge to your Lordship, that the conduct of other Protestant nations towards their Indian subjects, has also tended to confirm them in this supposition, particularly that of the United States of Holland, who, while they allowed their Cingalese, Malabar, and Malay subjects,

the free exercise of their different religions, at the public expense translated the sacred Scriptures into the former and latter of these languages, and employed Missionaries and Catechists to instruct the natives in the Christian religion; from which conduct your Lordship's Memorialists have never heard that in one single instance any alarm or disturbance arose, but that, on the contrary, these converted natives were often of the highest political service to their respective governments.

25. That the conduct of his Danish Majesty, Frederick the Fourth, who in 1705, at his own expense, sent Messrs. Ziegenbalg and Grundler to found the Protestant Mission at Tranquebar, tended still more to confirm their minds in this idea, particularly when connected with the subsequent conduct of the British Nation towards that Mission: for your Lordship's Memorialists entreat permission to represent, that on the return of the Missionary Ziegenbalg to Europe, nine years after the commencement of the Mission, he was invited to a sitting of the Bishops and others, in the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge; and that after his return to India, he was presented with a printer's press, to encourage him in the publication of the sacred Scriptures; that this press the Missionaries set up at Tranquebar, where it still remains employed for missionary purposes, under the patronage of his Danish Majesty.

26. That the gracious condescension of his Majesty George the First, by no means tends to weaken these ideas: for, in addition to the encouragement afforded these Missionaries by his

subjects, his Majesty was pleased to write them two letters; in the first of which, bearing date August 23d, 1717, his Majesty was pleased to express his satisfaction at the success of their labours, and to assure them of the continuance of his royal favour; and in the second, dated February 23d, 1727, twenty-two years after the mission had been founded (a period in which the dissemination of the Scriptures and the baptism of a multitude of the natives had fully developed its nature and tendency,) his Majesty was pleased to express his satisfaction in terms still stronger, to assure them that a constant account of the progress of their mission would be acceptable, and to "pray that they might be assisted in this good work, that its perpetuity might not fail in generations to come."

27. Your Lordship's Memorialists humbly entreat permission further to represent, that the conduct of the Honourable Company towards the Missionary Swartz, lately deceased, has tended to convince them, that in attempting to afford Christian instruction to the Hindoos, they were not acting contrary to the will of the Honourable Company. In confirmation of this idea, they entreat permission to refer to the cenotaph which the Honourable Company has been pleased to erect at Madras to the memory of this Missionary, directing that the inscription be translated into the different languages of the country, that the natives may understand the sense they entertain of his transcendant merit in "abstracting himself from temporal views, and for a period of fifty years going about doing good," in the character of a Christian Missionary.

28. Your Lordship's Memorialists most humbly entreat permission to appeal to your Lordship, whether their circumstances and employment, in translating the Scriptures and quietly dispensing Christian instruction, be not similar to those of Ziegenbalg and Swartz.

They acknowledge that their efforts bear no proportion to the labours of these excellent men, but entreat permission humbly to represent, that their motives and the nature of their labours are exactly the same.

29. They also entreat permission further to represent, that from the peculiarly delicate circumstances in which the efforts of the Missionary Swartz were made, among natives whose bigotry greatly exceeds that of the natives of this Presidency, and in the neighbourhood of the most inveterate and formidable Mahometan power which has ever opposed the British nation, they were led to suppose that if in these circumstances, attempts to instruct natives in the Christian religion were not injurious to the public tranquillity, but rather meritorious, they could not be of a different nature in this Presidency, from every powerful Mahometan neighbour, and where the natives, divided into numerous sects, indulge in literary and religious discussion to an almost unbounded degree.

30. That all they have had an opportunity of observing relative to the natives, has convinced them of this being their true state and disposition. They have found that in numerous instances discussion has been desired by their native teachers, and approved by the multitude, even when it has ended to the disadvantage of their

spirtual guides; that Christian instruction has been sought both by Hindoos and Mussulmans; that the prudent dissemination of Christian instruction for thirteen years, the baptism of more than a hundred of the natives, and the circulation of several thousand copies of the Scriptures, has created no alarm, nor excited among them the least dissatisfaction, during the whole of this period. They entreat permission also to add, that one of your Lordship's Memorialists has been in the habit, for more than five years, of dispensing Christian instruction, in Calcutta, to his servants, and such other natives who choose to attend, without observing the most distant appearance of discontent.

31. Your Lordship's Memorialists humbly entreat permission further to intrude upon your Lordship's clemency, and to represent, that about a year ago a number of Armenians and Protestant Portuguese, natives of Calcutta, stated to them that they wished for Christian instruction, but were too little acquainted with the English language to receive it at the English church: they therefore entreated your Lordship's Memorialists to afford it them in Bengalee, the only language in which they could receive it, one of them offering to fit up a part of his house for that purpose. Not imagining that by thus affording instruction to Protestant natives, they were acting contrary to the will of Government, your Lordship's Memorialists felt it their duty to comply with this request. And it is with the deepest concern they learn that this has been mentioned to Government, as an at-

tempt to inflame the minds of the natives, and disturb the public tranquillity.

32. They humbly beg leave to represent, that hearing instruction in their own language, natives have occasionally listened without, but that not the least appearance of dissatisfaction has been observed among those who have thus occasionally listened.

33. Your Lordship's Memorialists humbly implore permission to represent, that it is with the deepest concern they understand apprehensions for the public tranquillity have been entertained from the productions of their press.

34. They therefore humbly entreat permission to lay before your Lordship a correct list of the pamphlets which have issued therefrom, with a brief view of their contents.

1. "The Gospel Messenger," a short Bengalee poem, written to announce the translation of the Scriptures. By a Hindoo Pundit, favourable to Christianity as an object of discussion, but still professing Hindooism.

2. "The Dawn of Wisdom." By the same Pundit. Written to invite his countrymen to the investigation of Christianity.

3. "News relative to the Salvation of Man."

4. "A Summary of Christian Doctrines."

5. "The Words of Affection," a summary of Christianity, with an invitation to the Hindoos to examine it.

6. "An Address to the Worshippers of Juggernaut,"—4 pages.

7. "The Difference," a comparison between Khrishna and Christ. A translation of this, and

the 1st, 5th, and 6th Articles, have been published in England.

8. "The Sure Refuge," "Salutary Counsel," and the "Enlightening Guide;" three short Pieces addressed to his Countrymen the Hindoos. By Petumber Sing, an aged native Christian.

9. "An Address to Mussulmans;" with an Appendix, containing some Account of Mahomet.

35. Your Lordship's Memorialists humbly entreat permission to represent, that these pamphlets, with a few Catechisms (two of them Dr. Watt's) includes every thing they have printed in the native languages, except the Scriptures, a book of hymns, and the elementary books printed for the College of Fort William. The appendix in the 9th article is the pamphlet, a Persian translation of which was laid before your Lordship. This is the only one which your Lordship's Memorialists have at any time addressed to the Mussulmans, as they have generally found them less fond of discussion than the Hindoos. They entreat permission to add, that the Address was written and printed in England several years ago, and was selected by your Lordship's Memorialists, on account of its conciliatory tendency; that the Appendix was drawn up by your Lordship's Memorialists about three years ago, at the request of a number of Mussulmans highly fond of religious discussion; that none of those epithets were used respecting Mahomet which appeared in the Persian translation, and that your Lordship's Memorialists never heard of any

Mussulman being displeased by the perusal in the Bengalee of the original copy, although it has been read for nearly three years. They entreat permission, however, to represent, that on receiving the first information of your Lordship's pleasure, they withdrew it from circulation in every form.

36. They entreat permission to assure your Lordship, that nothing can be farther from them, than an indifference to the public tranquillity. Convinced as they are, by all the observations they have been able to make, that the British Government is the greatest national blessing vouchsafed by Divine Providence to India for many ages; and that the safety of themselves and their families, and of their native converts, depends in a peculiar manner on the permanent prosperity of the British Government; they entreat your Lordship to judge whether the dictates of Religion do not concur with those of the soundest reason, in urging them to promote, by every possible means, the peace, tranquillity, and prosperity of the British Empire in India.

37. Your Lordship's Memorialists humbly entreat permission further to represent, that they now have in the press translations of the Scriptures in the Sangskrit, the Bengalee, the Hindee, the Orissa, the Mahratta, and the Guzzeratter languages, which they have pledged themselves to the public in Britain, America, and in India, to print at a stipulated price, a price precluding any profit arising to themselves from this work of public and gratuitous benevolence.

38. That for the sake of executing these works, and others which they are printing at a

stipulated price for the College of Fort William and the Asiatic Society, and the accommodation of those concerned in them, they have been obliged to purchase and fit up premises at an expense of more than sixty thousand rupees; an expense involving them in debts which the most persevering industry and the most rigid economy has not enabled them in seven years wholly to liquidate. They humbly entreat permission further to state, that these premises, if abandoned, could be let only for a small monthly rent, and would indeed be ineligible to any single family, or to persons in a different line of business; while premises equally spacious and convenient could not be obtained at Calcutta for the monthly rent of a thousand rupees.

39. That in consequence of the difference in the price of house rent and other necessaries of life, naturally existing between the metropolis of India and a small country town, the wages of native workman in the printing line at Calcutta are nearly double those given at Serampore. Such works, however, as your Lordship's Memorialists have engaged in, with a view to public sale, relating chiefly to Oriental Literature, are exceedingly limited and precarious in the sale, and will permit no addition being made to their price.

40. That your Lordship's Memorialists, with their wives and children, forming a family of more than thirty Europeans, are by their missionary circumstances laid under the necessity of adopting a degree of econemy and frugality practicable only in a retired country situation as well as of training up their children (twenty in

number) in the same course; they therefore entreat permission to represent to your Lordship's consideration, that these circumstances constrain them to contemplate a removal to Calcutta with the utmost dread, as involving the speedy and inevitable ruin of themselves and their families.

41. They beg leave therefore to cast themselves on your Lordship's clemency, and with the utmost deference to submit their circumstances to your Lordship's humanity and wisdom, humbly imploring the great Author of the Christian Religion to pour down on your Lordship his choicest blessings, that your Lordship's Government, tranquil and happy to your Lordship, may be productive of the most beneficial and lasting effects to the millions confided to your Lordship's care; and that at a very distant period your Lordship may receive from His gracious hand a crown of glory that fadeth not away!

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) *W. Carey*, *Wm. Moore*,
Jo. Marshman, *Josh. Rowe*,
Wm. Ward, *Felix Carey*.

Mission-House, Serampore, 30th Sept. 1807.

No. VIII.

NATURAL HISTORY CULTIVATED BY THE PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES IN INDIA.

A VERY erroneous idea prevails in England respecting the general character and pursuits of the Missionaries in India. The common impression is, that they have no occupation but that of preaching. The following extracts from a late publication of the aged Missionary, the Rev. Dr. John, will, it is hoped, tend to put the public mind right in this instance. Dr. John has been forty years in India, being a member of the Mission at Tranquebar, in the South; and is now actively employed in the benevolent work of organizing native schools, for the instruction of the Hindoos and others in general useful knowledge. At these schools, it is optional for the children to learn Christian principles or not.

"The Missionaries have not been negligent of Indian literature or natural history, but have communicated on these topics with the learned of past and present times. What Ziegenbalg, Walter, Widebrog, have done in the first half-century of the Mission, respecting Indian geography, history, and religion, ancient writings, &c. may be seen in Niecamp's Extract of the Mission Accounts, which has been published in German and Latin.

"When I arrived in India, I found in our Mission Library a whole press of ancient manuscripts on palm leaves, concerning the Hindoo

or Brahmin religion, or Vedahs and Shasters, and on medical science, of which there was collected a manuscript book under the title of Medicus Malabaricus, and Mythologia Malabarica, and many more relics of botanical observations, with other testimonies of the many labours and attentions of the older Missionaries in different sciences. But by the inclemency of the climate, and the want of means to preserve and pay due attention to these literary treasures, a great deal has been unhappily lost. However, what was still legible has been copied, and made use of in later times.

"Of the literary transactions in the present half century of the Mission, I will only mention with a grateful sense the merits of the late Dr. Koeing, who was a scholar of the great Linnæus. My colleague, the Rev. Dr. Rottler, and myself, have profited much by his indefatigable zeal in communicating his extensive knowledge of natural history, which he also shewed to many English gentlemen when he entered into the English service.

"After him Dr. Martini, and, in later years, Dr. Klein, united us in this favourite science. In acknowledgment of our services, we were favoured by our philosophical friends with their latest works on all the branches of natural history published by Chemnitz, Schreber, Esper, Herbot, Wilderow, Batsek and Russel, &c. To assist us in these pursuits, we found among the natives many an able youth, insomuch that I have succeeded in sending, during my stay in India, above an hundred boxes of curiosities collected in many countries and islands in the

Indian seas, besides the many botanical specimens sent by the Rev. Dr. Rottler and Dr. Klein.

"In our mission garden is kept a nursery of the best and most useful fruit trees, native and foreign. This is open to Europeans and natives in our district when they wish for plants. If free schools shall be established and superintended by intelligent school rectors from England and Germany, amongst these some will be acquainted with agriculture, grafting, and other particulars of gardening. Much of this can be applied to our Indian climate. Many barren or less cultivated lands can be improved, and many hilly or flat districts filled with timber and fruit trees, or made to nourish small grains and bulbs, cotton, dying and medical plants, &c. I am sure that many European gentlemen who have or will lay out gardens will be very glad if they can procure European school inspectors, who may occasionally superintend such gardens, and instruct the frequently stupid and ignorant native gardners in the art of gardening. How much have I lamented on my travels through the country, especially after destructive inundations when I have passed rivers, lakes, and tanks, that the banks on many places are so ill attended to, though their frequent failures might so easily be prevented by planting on them the most common shrubs. When, for instance, I travelled with the late Mr. Gericke through the hills and villages from Chingelput to St. Thome, we conversed together, and both felt much concern that these long tracts were so little and so insufficiently cultivated; and I could not help

expressing my wish that I might have them under my disposal and direction, if they were not so distant from Tranquebar. How many millions of the most useful palmeira trees, and other timber and fruit trees, could be raised in the most barren hilly districts, if the European inspectors of free schools were placed throughout the country; who, in their visitations of the schools, might attend to these objects, and engage the native schoolmasters with their pupils to assist in them at their leisure hours, and according to their capacities. I would, indeed, particularly advise that the poor children should by no means sit the whole day, bent over their books and palmeira leaves. If Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster's plans are gradually introduced, the youth will learn in one forenoon more than in a whole day, if the old custom should be continued. In the afternoon, they can be employed in some exercises of the body, in order to make them, from their earliest age, industrious, laborious, and active—fit for every useful business. Thus may also those European rectors of native schools, who have a knowledge of mechanics, or who have been dyers, weavers, carpenters, instrument makers, and those who have worked in minerals, be of great use in this country, and may make at least some of their pupils acquainted with their respective professions.

"The European gentlemen, judges, collectors, residents, and those in other stations in the Honourable Company's service, cannot attend to or enter into the above-mentioned details, if they are not assisted by intelligent men

of a lower situation, who are contented with small salaries, but can render themselves of great use under their patronage; not only in attending to the schools, but to secondary employments, such as those before named. My late and living friends, Dr. Anderson, Dr. Russel, Dr. Boxburgh, and Dr. Benjamin Heyne, would undoubtedly have had much greater success in their beneficial researches, if they had found such assistants as these in their pursuits." —*Rev. C. S. John on Indian Civiliz. p.* 39—43.

Dr. Carey and his fellow-labourers in the North of India have not been inattentive to natural History. Dr. Carey himself has studied it more particularly, and cultivates a small botanical garden at Serampore. He has also attended to statistical and agricultural subjects. See his paper "On the State of Agriculture in the District of Dinajpur;" inserted in Asiatic Researches, vol. x. art. 1.

No. IX.

Report of the IMMOLATION of FEMALES, between Cossimbazar, in Bengal, and the Mouth of the Hooghly, in the months of May and June, 1812. (Extracted from an account of the Writings, Religion, and Manners of the Hindoos, &c. by W. Ward one of the Missionaries at Serampore)

Places.	*Female's Name.*	*Age.*	*Children left.*	*Husbands's Cast.*
Kaleeka-poora	Hira	18	1	Brahum
Ditto	Radha	22	2	Oilman
Ditto	Sukhee	33	2	Blacksmith

Places.	Female's Name.	Age.	Children left.	Husband's Cast.
Ditto - - - -	Sarutee -	25	2	Brahman
Ditto - - - -	Kaomaree	40	4	Carpenter
Baloochura - -	Kaminee -	32	3	Brahmun
Bamuniya - -	Rajee - -	25	3	Kaist'ha
Ditto - - - -	Roopee -	25	2	Brahmun
Shree-nugura -	Bimula -	31	3	Carpenter
Juyu-para - -	Koushulya	45	5	Gardener
Ditto - - - -	Five women	—	4	Merchant
Kashim-bazar -	Soonduree	35	3	Goldsmith
Ditto - - - -	Dasee - -	34	3	Brasier
Calcutta - - -	Shyamee -	32	2	Brahmun
Ditto - - - -	Tara - -	19	1	Goldsmith
Ditto - - - -	Soonduree	31	3	Blacksmith
Ditto - - - -	Jeera - -	25	3	Kivarta
Baliya - - - -	Rammunee	27	2	Brahmun
Kumula-poora -	Rutuna -	16	0	Husbandman
Ditto - - - -	Munee -	33	3	Oilman
Ditto - - - -	Dasee - -	25	2	Goldsmith
Ditto - - - -	Bhuguvutee	38	4	Rajpoota
Ditto - - - -	Lukshinee	60	5	Washerman
Ditto - - - -	Shyamee -	30	3	Gardener
Ditto - - - -	Mutee - -	38	4	Oilman
Mana-singhapoora	Daminee -	40	3	Kaist'ha
Ditto - - - -	Pudma - -	33	2	Ditto
Ditto - - - -	Lileeta -	45	6	Ditto
Ditto - - - -	Somee - -	30	3	Carpenter
Burdhman - -	Koomaree -	23	3	Rajpoota
Ditto - - - -	Dropudee -	31	3	Carpenter
Ditto - - - -	Tripoora -	38	4	Blacksmith
Kochu-nugura -	Duya - -	35	4	Ditto
Brahmunpoora -	Nuynee -	21	3	Weaver
Nuya-serai - -	Sidhoo - -	25	3	Potter
Inkoo-serai - -	Rummunee -	19	1	Brahmun
Ditto - - - -	Sukhee -	32	3	Ditto
Ditto - - - -	Shomee -	30	3	Barber
Shree-nugura -	Vimula -	31	3	Carpenter
Ram-poora - -	Shyamee -	38	3	Brahmun
Anur-poora - -	Kinee - -	16	1	Bagdee
Gopal nugura -	Sona - -	39	3	Kivarta

Places.	*Female's Name.*	*Age.*	*Children left.*	*Husband's Cast.*
Manik-poora -	- Bhuwanee	29	3	Ditto
Ditto - - -	- Bhabinee -	38	2	Gardener
Ditto - - -	- Suruswutee	19	1	Oilman
Ditto - - -	- Viskkna -	40	4	Weaver
Tareshwura -	- Shyamee -	37	4	Brahmun
Ichanugurya -	- Priya - -	17	1	Ditto
Ditto - - -	- Chitra - -	52	4	Ditto
Ditto - - -	- Kalindee -	25	2	Oilman
Katulya - -	- Mohinee -	33	4	Barber
Teghuriya -	- Soonduree	38	3	Kivurtta
Ditto - - -	- Shushee -	33	3	Barber
Ditto - - -	- Nuyanee -	25	3	Brahmun
Chunakuli -	- 12 women -	—	30	K. Brahmun

This last mentioned Brahmun had married twenty-five women, thirteen of whom died during his life-time; the remaining twelve perished with him on the funeral pile, leaving *thirty children* to deplore the fatal effects of this horrid system.

Some years ago, a Kooleena Brahmun, of considerable property, died at Sookachura, three miles east of Serampore. He had married more than forty women, all of whom died before him excepting eighteen. On this occasion, a fire, extending ten or twelve yards in length, was prepared, into which the remaining eighteen threw themselves, leaving more than forty children, many of whom are still living.

No. X.

TESTIMONY of the Hon. the *East-India Company* to the *Character of Mr. Swartz.**

(Extracted from a Preface to a Funeral Sermon, preached in St. Mary's Church, Fort St. George, by order of the Hon. Court of Directors, on the opening of Mr. Swartz's Monument set up in that Church. By R. H. Kerr, D. D. Senior Chaplain of Fort St. George.)

PUBLIC DEPARTMENT.

To Rev. Dr. Kerr, Sen. Chap. at Fort St. George.

REVEREND SIR,

I am directed by the Rt. Hon. the Governor in Council to enclose, for your information and guidance, the Extract of a late Letter from the Hon. the Court of Directors, and to inform you of the wish of his Lordship in Council, that early measures may be taken for erecting in St. Mary's Church the Monument which has been transmitted to this place by the Hon. Court, as a tribute of respect to the memory of the late Rev. Mr. Swartz.

2. His Lordship in Council directs me also to express his confidence that your endeavour will be exerted to give every practicable effect to the farther suggestions of the Hon. Court, with regard to the best means of conveying an adequate impression of the exalted worth of that revered character, and his Lordship will be

* Suppressed by the Bengal Government.

prepared to give every facility to the measures which you may propose on this subject.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. BUCHAN, *Chief Sec.*

Fort St. George, 16th June, 1807.

Extract of a General Letter from England, in the Public Department, dated Oct. 29, 1806.

3. By our extra ship the Union you will receive in four packing-cases, numbered 1 to 4, a marble Monument, which has been executed by Mr. Bacon under our directions, to the memory of the Rev. Christian Frederick Swartz, as the most appropriate testimony of the deep sense we entertain of his transcendant merit, of his unwearied and disinterested labours in the cause of religion and piety, and the exercise of the purest and most exalted benevolence; also of his public services at Tanjore, where the influence of his name and character, the unbounded confidence and veneration which they inspired, was for a long course of years productive of important benefits to the Company.

4. On no subject has the Court of Directors been more unanimous, than in their anxious desire to perpetuate the memory of this eminent person, and to excite in others an emulation of his great example: we accordingly direct, that the Monument be erected in some conspicuous situation near the altar, in the Church of St. Mary, in the Fort St. George; and that you adopt, in conjunction and with the assistance of

the Rev, Dr. Kerr, the Senior Chaplain at your Presidency, any other measures that your judgment shall suggest, as likely to give effect to these our intentions, and to render them impressive on the minds of the public at your settlement. As one of the most efficacious, we would recommend that, on the first Sunday after the erection of the Monument, a discoure adapted to the occasion be delivered by the Senior Chaplain. We desire also that the native inhabitants, by whom Mr. Swartz was so justly revered, may be permitted and encouraged to view the Monument, after it shall have been erected; and that translations be made of the inscription into the country languages, be published at Madras, and copies sent to Tanjore and the other districts in which Mr. Swartz occasionally resided and established seminaries for religious instruction.

5. We were much gratified by learning that his Excellency the Rajah of Tanjore had also been desirous of erecting a Monument to the memory of Mr. Swartz, in the Church which was built by Mr. Swartz himself in the inner fort of that capital, and had sent directions accordingly to this country, in consequence of which a Monument has been executed by Mr. Flaxman. We shall give directions for its being received on board one of our ships free of freight; and we desire that you will afford every facility towards its conveyance to Tanjore.

(A true Extract) G. G. KEBLE, *Sec.*

COPY
OF THE INSCRIPTION ON
MR. SWARTZ's MONUMENT.

(Dictated by the Hon. Court of Directors.)

SACRED TO THE MEMORY

of the REV. FREDERICK CHRISTIAN SWARTZ,
Whose life was one continued effort to imitate the
Example of his BLESSED MASTER.
Employed as a Protestant Missionary from the
GOVENMENT OF DENMARK,
And in the same character by the Society in England
for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge,
He, during a period of FIFTY YEARS, "Went about
Doing Good;"
Manifesting, in respect to himself, the most entire
abstraction from temporal views,
But embracing every opportunity of promoting both
the temporal and eternal Welfare of others.
In him Religion appeared not with a gloomy aspect
or forbidding mien,
But with a graceful form and placid dignity.
Among the many fruits of his indefatigable labours was
the erection of the CHURCH at TANJORE.
The savings from a small salary were, for many years,
devoted to the pious work,
And the remainder of the expense supplied by
Individuals, at his solicitation.
The Christian Seminaries at Ramnadporam and in
The Tinnevelly province were established by him.
Beloved and honoured by Europeans,
He was, if possible, held in still deeper reverence by the
natives of this country, of every degree & every sect:
And their unbounded confidence in his Integrity and
Truth was, on many occasions rendered highly
beneficial to the public service.
The POOR and the INJURED
Looked up to him as an unfailing friend & advocate:
The GREAT and POWERFUL

Concurred in yielding him the highest homage ever paid in this Quarter of the Globe to European virtue.

The late HYDER ALLY CAWN,
In the midst of a bloody and vindictive war with the CARNATIC, sent orders to his Officers "to permit the venerable Father SWARTZ to pass unmolested, & shew him respect and kindness, for he is a Holy Man and means no harm to my Government."

The late TULJAJA, RAJAH of TANJORE,
when on his death-bed, desired to entrust to his protecting care his adopted Son, SERFOJEE, the present Rajah, with the administration of all affairs of his Country.

On a spot of ground granted to him by the same Prince, two Miles east of Tanjore,
He built a House for his Residence and made it an
ORPHAN ASYLUM.
Here the last twenty years of his life were spent in the education and religious instruction of Children,
Particularly those of indigent parents——whom he gratuitously maintained and instructed:
And here, on the 13th of February, 1798,
Surrounded by his infant flock and in the presence of several of his disconsolate brethren,
Entreating them to continue to make RELIGION the first object of their care,
And imploring with his last breath the Divine Blessing on their Labours, he closed
His truly Christian Career, in the 72d year of his Age.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY,
Anxious to perpetuate the memory of such transcendant worth, and gratefully sensible of the Public Benefits which resulted from its influence,
Caused this Monument to be erected, A. D. 1807.

No. XI.

The APOLOGY of Mr. SWARTZ, in Answer to a Speech delivered in the British Parliament, in 1793.—(Extracted from the Proceedings of the Honourable Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.)

A LETTER* has been received from Mr, Swartz, dated at Tanjore, February 13, 1794. written in consequence of his having perused at Vallam, in a newspaper called the Courier, of Friday, May 24th, 1793, some animadversions on their Mission, the Missionaries in general, and himself in particular, and containing a vindication of himself, the other Missionaries, and the Missions, against the misrepresentations produced to the public in those animadversions. This letter, being of a particularly interesting nature, the Society judge fit to produce at length.

Tanjore, February 13, 1794.

Reverend and dear Sir,

As his Majesty's 74th Regiment is partly stationed at Tanjore, and partly at Vallam, six

* As the Society, after forty years' experience, have had constant reason to approve of Mr. Swartz's integrity and veracity as a correspondent, his zeal as a promoter of Christian knowledge, and his labours as a Missionary; they take this opportunity of acknowledging his faithful services, and recommending his letter to the consideration of the public, as containing a just statement of facts relating to the Mission, believing Mr. S. is incapable of departing from the truth in the minutest particular.

English miles distant from Tanjore, we commonly go once in a week to Vallam, to perform Divine service to four companies of that regiment.

When I lately went to that place, the 250th number of a newspaper, called the Courier, Friday evening, May 24th, 1793, was communicated to me.

In that paper I found a paragraph, delivered by Mr. Montgomerie Campbell (who came out to India with Sir Archibald Campbell, in the station of a Private Secretary,) wherein my name was mentioned in the following manner:

"Mr. M. Campbell gave his decided vote against the clause, and reprobated the idea of converting the Gentoos. It is true, Missionaries have made proselytes of the Parriars; but they were the lowest order of people, and had even degraded the religion they professed to embrace.

"Mr. Swartz, whose character was held so deservedly high, could not have any reason to boast of the purity of his followers: they were proverbial for their profligacy. An instance occurred to his recollection perfectly in point: he had been preaching for many hours to this cast of proselytes on the heinousness of theft, and, in the heat of his discourse, taken off his stock, when that and his gold buckle were stolen by one of his virtuous and enlightened congregation. In such a description of natives did the doctrine of the Missionaries operate. Men of high cast would spurn at the idea of changing the religion of their ancestors."

As this paragraph is found in a public paper, I thought it would not displease the Honoura-

ble Society to make a few observations on it; not to boast (which I detest,) but to declare the plain truth, and to defend my brethren and myself.

About seventeen years ago, when I resided at Trichinopoly, I visited the Congregation at Tanjore. In my road I arrived very early at a village which is inhabited by Collaries (a set of people who are infamous for stealing; even the name of a Collary, or better Callen, signifies a thief.) These Collaries make nightly excursions in order to rob. They drive away bullocks and sheep, and whatever they can find; for which outrage they annually pay 1500 chokr, or 750 pagodas, to the Rajah.

Of this cast of people, many live in the Tanjore country, still more in Tondiman's country, and likewise in the Nabob's country.

When I arrived at one of these villages, called Pudaloor, I took off my stock, putting it on a sand-bank. Advancing a little, to look out for the man who had carried my linen clothes, I was regardless of the stock; at which time some thievish boys took it away. Not one grown person was present. When the inhabitants heard of the theft, they desired me to confine all those boys, and to punish them as severely as I pleased; but I refused to do that, not thinking that the trifle which I had lost was worth so much trouble.

That such boys, whose fathers are professed thieves, should commit a theft, can be no matter of wonder. All the village were heathens; not one Christian family was found therein.—Many of our gentlemen, travelling through that village, have been robbed.

The trifle of a buckle I did not therefore lose by a Christian, as Mr. M. Campbell will have it, but by heathen boys.

Neither did I preach at that time; Mr. M. Campbell says that I preached two hours. I did not so much as converse with any man.

This poor story, totally misrepresented, is alledged by Mr. M. Campbell to prove the profligacy of Christians, whom he called with a sneer, "virtuous and enlightened people."

If Mr. M. Campbell has no better proof, his conclusion is built upon a bad foundation, and I shall not admire his logic: truth is against him.

Neither is it true, that the best part of those people who have been instructed are Parriars. Had Mr. M. Campbell visited, even once, our Church, he would have observed that *more than two-thirds were of the higher cast;* and so is it at Tranquebar and Vepery.

Our intention is not to boast; but this I may safely say, that many of those people who have been instructed have left this world with comfort, and with a well grounded hope of everlasting life.

That some of those who have been instructed and baptized, have abused the benefit of instruction, is certain: but all sincere servants of God, nay, even the Apostles, have experienced this grief.

It is asserted, that a Missionary is a disgrace to any country. Lord Macartney and the late General Coote would have entertained a very different opinion. They, and many other gentlemen, know and acknowledge, that the Mis-

sionaries have been beneficial to Government, and a comfort to the country.

This I am able to prove in the strongest manner. Many gentlemen who live now in England, and in this country, would corroborate my assertion.

That the Reverend Mr. Gericke has been of eminent service at Cuddalore, every gentleman, who was at Cuddalore at the time when the war broke out, knows. He was the instrument in the hands of Providence, by which Cuddalore was saved from plunder and bloodshed.

He saved many gentlemen from becoming prisoners to Hyder, which Lord Macartney kindly acknowledged.

When Negapatam, that rich and populous city, fell into the deepest poverty, by the unavoidable consequences of war, Mr. Gericke behaved like a father to the distressed people of that city. He forgot that he had a family to provide for. Many impoverished families were supported by him; so that when I, a few months ago, preached and administered the Sacrament in that place, I saw many who owed their and their children's lives to his disinterested care. Surely this, my friend, could not be called a disgrace to that place. When the Honourable Society ordered him to attend the Congregation at Madras, all lamented his departure: and at Madras, he is esteemed by the Governor and many other gentlemen to this day.

It is a most disagreeable task to speak of one's self. However, I hope that the Honourable Society will not look upon some observations which I am to make as a vain and sinful boast-

ing, but rather as a necessary self-defence. Neither the Missionaries, nor any of the Christians, have hurt the welfare of the country.

In the time of war, the Fort of Tanjore was in a distressed condition. A powerful enemy was near, the people in the Fort numerous, and not provision even for the garrison. There was grain enough in the country, but we had no bullocks to bring it into the Fort. When the country people formerly brought paddy into the Fort, the rapacious Dubashes deprived them of their due pay: hence all confidence was lost, so that the inhabitants drove away their cattle, refusing to assist the Fort. The late Rajah entreated the people, by his managers, to come and help us; but all was in vain.

At last the Rajah said to one of our principal gentlemen: "*We all, you and I, have lost our credit: let us try whether the inhabitants will trust Mr. Swartz.*" Accordingly he sent me a blank paper, empowering me to make a proper agreement with the people. Here was no time for hesitation. The Sepoys fell down as dead people, being emaciated with hunger: our streets were lined with dead corpses every morning: our condition was deplorable. I sent, therefore, letters every where round about, promising to pay any one with my own hands, and to pay them for any bullock which might be taken by the enemy. In one or two days, I got above a thousand bullocks, and sent one of our Catechists and other Christians into the country. They went at the risk of their lives, made all possible haste, and brought into the Fort, in a very short time, 80,000 kallams. By this

means the Fort was saved. When all was over, I paid the people (even with some money which belonged to others,) made them a small present, and sent them home.

The next year, when Colonel Braithwaite with his whole detachment was taken prisoner, Major Alcock commanded this Fort, and behaved very kindly to the poor starving people. We were then, the second time, in the same miserable condition. The enemy always invaded the country when the harvest was nigh at hand. I was again desired to try my former expedient, and succeeded. The people knew that they were not to be deprived of their pay: they therefore came with their cattle.—But now the danger was greater, as the enemy was very near. The Christians conducted the inhabitants to proper places, surely with no small danger of losing their lives. Accordingly they wept, and went, and supplied the Fort with grain. When the inhabitants were paid, I strictly inquired whether any of the Christians had taken from them a present. They all said, "No, no; as we were so regularly paid, we offered to your Catechist a cloth of small value, but he absolutely refused it."

But Mr. M. Campbell says, that the Christians are profligate to a proverb.

If Mr. M. Campbell was near me, I would explain to him who are the profligate people who drain the country. When a Dubash, in the space of ten or fifteen years, scrapes together, two, three, or four lacks of pagodas, is not this extortion a high degree of profligacy?

Nay, Government was obliged to send an order, that three of those Gentoo Dubashes should quit the Tanjore country. The enormous crimes committed by them filled the country with complaints; but I have no mind to enumerate them.

It is asserted, that the inhabitants of the country would suffer by Missionaries.

If the Missionaries are sincere Christians, it is impossible that the inhabitants should suffer any damage by them: if they are not what they profess to be, they ought to be dismissed.

When Sir A. Campbell was Governor, and Mr. M. Campbell his Private Secretary, the inhabitants of the Tanjore country were so miserably oppressed by the Manager and the Madras Dubashes, that they quitted the country. Of course, all cultivation ceased. In the month of June, the cultivation should commence; but nothing was done, even at the beginning of September. Every one dreaded the calamity of a famine. I entreated the Rajah to remove that shameful oppression, and to recal the inhabitants. He sent them word, that justice should be done to them; but they disbelieved his promises. He then desired *me* to write to them, and to assure them, that he, at my intercession, would shew kindness to them. I did so. All immediately returned; and first of all the Kaller (or as they are commonly called Collaries) believed my word, so that 7,000 men came back in one day. The other inhabitants followed their example. When I exhorted them to exert themselves to the utmost because the time for cultivation was almost lost, they replied in

the following manner: "As you have shewed kindness to us, you shall not have reason to repent of it: we intend to work night and day, to shew our regard for you."

Sir A. Campbell was happy when he heard of it; and we had the satisfaction of having a better crop than the preceding year.

As there was hardly any administration of justice, I begged and entreated the Rajah to establish justice in his country. "Well," said he, "let me know wherein my people are oppressed." I did so. He immediately consented to my proposal, and told his manager, that he should feel his indignation, if the oppression did not cease immediately. But he soon died: he did not see the execution.

When the present Rajah began his reign, I put Sir A. Campbell in mind of that necessary point. He desired me to make a plan for a court of justice, which I did; but it was soon neglected by the servants of the Rajah, who commonly sold justice to the best bidder.

When the Honourable Company took possession of the country, during the war, the plan for introducing justice was reassumed, by which many people were made happy. But when the country was restored to the Rajah the former irregularities took place.

During the assumption, Government desired me to assist the gentlemen collectors. The district towards the west of Tanjore had been very much neglected, so that the water-courses had not been cleansed for the last fifteen years. I proposed that the collector should advance 500 pagodas to cleanse those water-courses,

The gentlemen consented, if I would inspect the business. The work was begun and finished, being inspected by Christians. All that part of the country rejoiced in getting 100,000 kallams more than before. The inhabitants confessed, that instead of one kallam they now reaped four.

No inhabitant has suffered by Christians: none has complained of it. On the contrary, one of the richest inhabitants said to me; "Sir, if you send a person to us, send one who has learned all your Ten Commandments." For he and many hundred inhabitants had been present, when I explained the Christian doctrine to Heathens and Christians.

The inhabitants dread the conduct of a Madras Dubash. These people lend money to the Rajah at an exorbitant interest, and then are permitted to collect their money and interest in an appointed district. It is needless to mention the consequences.

When the Collaries committed great outrages in their plundering expeditions, Sepoys were sent out to adjust matters; but it had no effect. Government desired me to inquire into the thievish business: I therefore sent letters to the head Collaries. They appeared. We found out, in some degree, how much the Tanjore and Fondaman's and the Nabob's Collaries had stolen; and we insisted upon restoration, which was done accordingly.

At last all gave in writing, that they would steal no more. This promise they kept for eight months, and then they began their old work; however, not as before. Had the in-

spection over their conduct been continued, they might have been made useful people. I insisted upon their cultivating their fields, which they really did. But if the demands become exorbitant, they have no resource, as they think, but that of plundering.

At last some of those thievish *Collaries* desired to be instructed. I said, "I am obliged to instruct you; but I am afraid that you will become very bad Christians." Their promises were fair. I instructed them; and when they had a tolerable knowledge, I baptized them.—Having baptized them, I exhorted them to steal no more, but to work industriously. After that I visited them; and having examined their knowledge, I desired to see their work. I observed with pleasure, that their fields were excellently cultivated. "Now," said I, "one thing remains to be done; you must pay your tribute readily, and not wait till it is exacted by military force," which otherwise is their custom. Soon after that, I found that they had paid off their tribute exactly.

The only complaint against those Christian *Collaries* was, that they refused to go upon plundering expeditions as they had done before.

Now I am well aware, that some will accuse me of boasting. I confess the charge willingly, but lay all the blame upon those who have constrained me to commit that folly.

I might have enlarged my account; but fearing that some characters would have suffered by it, I stop here.

One thing, however, I affirm, before God and man, that if Christianity, in its plain and undis-

guised form, was properly promoted, the country would not suffer, but be benefited by it.

If Christians were employed in some important offices, they should, if they misbehaved, be doubly punished; but *to reject them entirely* is not right, and discourageth.

The glorious God, and our blessed Redeemer, has commanded his Apostles to preach the Gospel to all nations.

The knowledge of God, of his divnie perfections, and of his mercy to mankind, may be abused; but there is no other method of reclaiming mankind, than by instructing them well. To hope that the heathens will live a good life, without the knowledge of God, is a chimera.

The praise bestowed on the heathens of this country by many of our historians, is refuted by a close (I might also say by a superficial) inspection of their lives. Many historical works are more like romances than history. Many gentlemen here are astonished how some historians have prostituted their talents, by writing fables.*

I am now at the brink of eternity; but to this moment I declare, that I do not repent of having spent forty-three years in the service of my Divine Master. Who knows but God may remove some of the great obstacles to the propagation

* I would not apply the above censure pronounced, by Mr. Swartz, on certain accounts which he had perused, to the panegyric on the Hindoos, which we have recently heard from Mr. Buller, Mr. Marsh, and others; but I would only beg leave to suggest to them, a more measured phrase in describing the character of any Pagan people in the ears of the British public.

of the Gospel? Should a reformation take place amongst the Europeans, it would, no doubt, be the greatest blessing to the country.

These observations I beg leave to lay before the Honourable Society, with my humble thanks for all their benefits bestowed on this work, and sincere wishes that their pious and generous endeavours to disseminate the knowledge of God, and Jesus Christ, may be beneficial to many thousands.

I am sincerely,

Reverend and dear Sir,

Your affectionate brother and humble servant,

(Signed) C. F. SWARTZ.

THE END.

Promoting Christianity in India.
1815

Received: The book was bound in ¼ black sheepskin with blue and red Stormont ends, plain end-sheets, endbands were missing. The leather had red rot and the front board was detatched-the back board was loose.

Proceedure: The text block was not reinforced at the first and last signatures. Adhesive used at the spine was a 50/50 mix of methyl cellulose and Jade 403.

O. P.-C. 1983